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UNITED AUSTRALIA.

PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND

AS EXPRESSED IN THE

LEADING JOURNALS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The Times of November 4th published the despatch of Sir Henry Parkes of October 30th, addressed to Mr. Gillies, and within sixteen days from that publication nearly every influential journal in the United Kingdom joined in the debate on Australian Federation. Among the first, *The Times*, November 5th, says:—"No better method of testing the strength of the desire for union could be devised than the summoning of such a National Convention as Sir Henry Parkes suggests." And the article concludes:—"Sir Henry Parkes is a capable statesman, and his judgment is entitled to all respect when he pronounces the time to be ripe and the method to be feasible. If that is so, the difficulties will gradually disappear, and the Federation of the Australian Colonies will before long be accomplished." Later in the discussion, November 16th, a leading provincial paper says:—"Criticism is the fire through which all new proposals of importance should pass, and if they cannot pass the ordeal they are better dropped. It must be confessed that the proposals of Sir Henry Parkes have come well out of the criticism that has greeted them."

In the following pages the principal articles of the English press are reproduced, with the name of the journal and date of publication. It will be seen that not only the London daily papers, but the great provincial journals, from Southampton to Aberdeen, and most of the economic and official publications, discussed the great Australian question.

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For convenience of reference the despatch of Sir Henry Parkes of October 30th is here reprinted:—

Colonial Secretary's Office,

Sir, Sydney, 30 October, 1889.

Your telegram, explanatory of your views in favour of bringing the machinery of the Federal Council into operation in giving effect to the recommendations of General Edwards for the federalization of Australian troops, reached me last week in Brisbane. Being extremely anxious to meet your wishes, I lost no time in re-examining the provisions of the Federal Council Act; and I regret that I cannot concur in your view, that the Council possesses the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control an united Australian army. The subsection of clause 15, to which you specially referred me, appears to supply evidence to the contrary. The two words "general defences" are included in a long list of secondary matters, such as "uniformity of weights and measures" and the "status of corporations and joint stock companies," and it would be a very strained interpretation that could give to those two words so used a definition of legal authority to deal with a matter second to none other in the exercise of National power. It is not for me to say what is the precise meaning of the words on which you rely; but it is contended that they cannot be construed to mean the creation, direction, mobilisation, and executive control of a great army for the defence of the whole of Australia.

For more than twenty years I have had the question of Australian federation almost constantly before me; and I cannot be accused of indifference to it at any time, merely because I had become convinced from earlier examination, while others were adopting the scheme of the present Federal Council at a later period, that no such body would ever answer the great objects of Federal Government. Leaving the provisions of the Act as to the legislative capacity of the Council, we are at once precipitated upon an impassable barrier, in the fact that there does not exist in it or behind it any form of executive power. Supposing, for example, that the Federal Council's recommendations or enactments, for the movement of Australian soldiers could be accepted, there could not be found anywhere a corresponding executive authority to give effect to them.

The vitally important recommendation made by General Edwards is one, in any light from which it can be viewed, of national magnitude and significance. The vast sums annually expended by the Continental Colonies for defence works and services would be of greatly enhanced value in time

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of public danger, if the scattered and unconnected forces locally maintained could be brought under one command, and, whenever advisable, directed to one field of operations. I am satisfied that this cannot be done by any existing machinery. The Executive Governments of the several Colonies could not act in combination for any such purpose, nor could they so act independently of each other. The Federal Council has no executive power to act at all. The Imperial Parliament, on the application of the Colonies, could, no doubt, pass an Act to constitute the Federal Army under one command, and to authorize its operations in any part of Australia; but the Colonies could never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering in the direction of its movements. Hence, then, this first great Federal question, when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of preferences or prejudices, face to face with the imperative necessity for a Federal Government. And why should we turn aside from what is inevitable in the nature of our onward progress? It must come, a year or two later possibly, but in any case soon.

I hope I need not assure you that this Government is anxious to work in harmony with the Governments of the sister Colonies in the matter under consideration, and is desirous of avoiding subordinate questions coloured by party feeling or collateral issues. It is a question to be put to the mind and heart of Australia, in view of the destiny of Australia, and on which it is hoped all sections of the collective population will unite without regard to narrower considerations. Believing that the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one, this Government respectfully invites you to join in taking the first great step, namely, to appoint representatives of Victoria to a National Convention for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. With much deference to the views of the other Colonies, it is suggested that, in order to avoid any sense of inequality in debate or any party complexion, the number from each Colony should be the same, and should be equally chosen from both sides in political life; and that, in the case of each Colony, the representatives should be elected by Parliament and receive commissions from the Governor in Council. It is further suggested that six members from each Colony would be a convenient number, both in regard to combining a fair representation of the two Houses, and at the same time not making the Convention too unwieldy. In each case four members might be taken from the Assembly, two from each side; and two members from the Council, one from each side. In the case of Western Australia, where only one House exists, possibly only four members might be elected. If New Zealand joined, the Convention would as a result consist of forty members.

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The scheme of Federal Government, it is assumed, would necessarily follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada. It would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, for the creation of an Australian Privy Council, and a Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons. In the work of the Convention, no doubt, the rich stores of political knowledge which were collected by the framers of the Constitution of the United States would be largely resorted to, as well as the vast accumulation of learning on cognate subjects since that time.

Although a great and pressing military question has brought to the surface the design of a Federal Government at the present juncture, the work of a national character which such a Government could, in the interest of all the Colonies, most beneficially and effectively undertake, would include the noblest objects of peaceful and orderly progress; and every year the field of its beneficent operations would be rapidly expanding. I devoutly hope that you will be able to take the view which I have briefly explained, of the necessity now pressing upon these Colonies to rise to a higher level of national life, which would give them a larger space before the eyes of the world, and in a hundred ways promote their united power and prosperity.

Permit me, in conclusion, to say that you place much too high an estimate on my individual influence, if you suppose that the accession of New South Wales to the Federal Council rests with me. In my judgment, there is no person and no party here that could persuade Parliament to sanction the representation of this Colony in the present Federal Council.

I have, &c.,

HENRY PARKES.

The Honorable Duncan Gillies, M.P., Victoria.

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UNITED AUSTRALIA.

The Spectator—

November 2nd, 1889.

THE project of consolidating the Australian continent into one powerful state has taken a great step forward. Most of the colonies have been willing to co-operate in the work, though only Victoria has been zealous; but New South Wales has hung back, and has even declined to enter the Federal Council with limited powers which since 1886 has harmonised many intercolonial disputes upon the jurisdiction of courts of law. Moved, however, by some cause as yet unknown, but, it is to be presumed, by a recognition of the danger to which the colony would be exposed in the event of a great war, the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, stated publicly on Thursday week that the time had arrived when a Parliament and an Executive must be created for all Australia, to deal with international questions; and that a convention from all the colonies should be assembled to devise a plan for federation. As that is the opinion of the other colonies also, New Zealand excepted, all resistance has apparently died away, and we may expect within two or three years to see a definite project for founding the new nation forwarded to the Colonial Office for the assent of the Crown. There are, of course, many visible difficulties and sources of delay; but the most important of them will, we believe, disappear, not so much from argument as under the pressure of unrelenting facts. The first object is to place the colonies in a position to defend themselves without assistance from the mother country; and the attempt to do that will involve the formation of a Government, with considerable powers of legislation, a separate revenue, and a strong, or at least an undivided, Executive. If there is to be a common army, however popularly organised, and a common fleet, however small, and fortresses for the defence of the great harbours, there must be a chief in military command, yet responsible to

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The Spectator—*continued.*

the civil power; there must be a central representative body to co-operate with that civil power, and there must be a National as distinguished from a Colonial revenue, levied at the discretion of the central power, and without the intervention of provincial authorities. Those data granted, we may trust to the national instinct which will speedily be awakened to make the general Government sufficiently effective. The colonies will, of course, be jealous of their independence; they will, of course, bicker as to methods of levying the taxes of the Dominion and those of each colony; and they may be fretful for a time about the expense which any scheme of federation must involve; but if the project is accepted at all, the result is certain. The Convention will soon discover that the Australian Legislature cannot work with less powers than those of Congress; it will be unable to discover a common source of sufficient revenue except the Customs duties; and it is sure to leave the Executive sufficiently enfranchised, even if it does not leave much power to the Viceroy. Our only doubt is whether it will follow the example of the American Union, and reserve to the separate provinces all powers not explicitly transferred to the Dominion; or whether it will adopt the wiser precedent of Canada, and make the central authority the Inheritor-General of all the authority not assigned in terms to its constituent divisions. The whole question of nationality ultimately hinges upon that, and upon that we should hope the American Civil War had taught the world a sufficient lesson. There should, too, be a provision for revising the Constitution under some process less cumbrous and less liable to be defeated by sectional jealousy than the one adopted in America, and a widely different scheme for the government of territories not yet admitted within the Dominion. Canada did not need that; but Australia occupies a different geographical position. Like the American Union, she will be practically isolated so far as the fear of invasion is concerned; but she is an island seated in an ocean studded with rich islands which offer themselves to the first European captor. Her people, too, have been bred under influences widely different from those which made the Americans, and have shown already a desire to be supreme in the Pacific, which cannot be gratified unless her Government possesses means of ruling dependencies not admitted to political equality. New Guinea alone is a kingdom in area, and New Guinea belongs to Australia by a right almost as strong as that which binds the Isle of Man to Great Britain.

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The Spectator—*continued.*

We confess we envy the task of the representatives to be assembled in the Convention; it is so infinitely superior to that of Members of Parliament. They will all be "plain men," little known outside their own colonies, as, indeed, were the men who revised the American Constitution; but they will, if they succeed, and above all if they agree, have laid the foundations of a great nation, with a history which, as the centuries advance, may be more interesting than that of the United States, whose annals are almost exclusively internal. The great Southern State will be an island, and, like every other island, cannot avoid incessant relations with every other Power in the world. Water divides, but it also unites, for it furnishes a perpetually open road. Australia as a Republic cannot help being a maritime Power, and, from the days of Phœnicia downwards, there never was a maritime Power yet without a foreign policy. She is too liable to attack, too eager for commerce, too clearly compelled to protect settlements and subjects at a distance from her own shores. It is a fleet Australia will need rather than a militia, more especially if she commits the imprudence of including New Zealand—a separate world, twelve hundred miles off—within her own dominion, and the possessors of fleets are never contented with the less interesting annals of mere landsmen. Fleets imply adventure, though their owner is but a city on the wrong side of the Mediterranean. The Australian Colonies have already questions which, were they independent, would be serious questions, with France and China and Holland, and they bear a relation towards Further Asia not borne by any European Power. They will not be organised into a State for ten years before they will be trading, settling, and governing in the only splendid possession which Europe has left for the next conquering Power, the great necklace of rich, tropical islands, a necklace with two rows, which stretches down from Japan to a point almost within sight of the Australian coast. Australia is the natural heir of the Eastern Archipelago, an Empire in itself, and will not be long a State before, whatever Europe may think or feel, she will have claimed her heritage. Europe will be perfectly powerless, and, in all probability, occupied as she will be with other questions, profoundly indifferent.

The federation of Australia, great as may be the power thus founded, will be witnessed here without the smallest jealousy. Nobody desires to hamper Australia, even if she expands very rapidly. There is not a trace of that contempt for Australians which our ancestors are said to

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The Spectator—*continued.*

have felt for the American Colonists, and none of the lingering jealousy with which even the English regard all other successful Powers. Some quality in the Australians not easily to be defined, though we should call it cheeriness, attracts the English at home, and, but for the length of the voyage, they would fill up the plains of the Southern Continent at a rate which would hardly delight the workmen of Melbourne or Sydney. All men here are willing that Australia should remain a Dependency; but if she declared her wish to rise into the position of an independent ally, there would be, amidst some sorrow at the disappearance of a dream, but little irritation. There are men among us, indeed, who think that, so far from dreading Australian Federation, we should welcome it as the first great step towards Imperial Federation. We are, we regret to say, wholly unable to enter into that dream. We cannot even imagine Australia, with her unimpeded career before her in the South, taking up part of our burden in the North, helping to guarantee us against European attacks, maintaining our empire in Asia, or submitting to the influence of our democratic Parliament. No new people accepts that position except for the gravest reasons, and why should Australia accept it? What have we to give in return for such a sacrifice except a maritime protection which, in the very act of declaring her independence, she would assert that she did not need? The Dominion may, indeed, be content to remain for many years as a Federal Republic within the empire, as the Canadian Dominion has done; but it will be on condition that the empire defends her without interfering in her internal government, or levying within her coasts any taxation. The dream of the union of countries separated by twelve thousand miles of sea is a dream merely, and would be one even if England were willing that her policy should be partly directed from Ottawa or Melbourne. It is as a powerful colony, soon to become a powerful State, that England will welcome the Australian Dominion, all the more willingly perhaps that Australia cannot, like Canada, merge herself in a state already almost as strong as Europe in combination. Australia must always remain alone, sufficient or insufficient to herself—a fact which will, we hope, affect her organisation, as it most assuredly will affect the political temper of her people.

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The St. James' Gazette—

November 4th, 1889.

THE important despatch just issued by Sir Henry Parkes, the New South Wales Premier, bears out what we said the other day in commenting on a previous statement made by the same statesman. Sir Henry, who is the most influential politician in New South Wales, or, indeed, in Australasia, now formally and distinctly records his belief in Australian Federalism. The immediate occasion is the report made by General Edwards, the military commandant at Hong Kong, on the subject of the Australian defensive system. This officer has advised, among other things, the federation of the several Australian contingents and the appointment of a single commanding officer for the whole body; the adoption of a uniform system of organisation and armament; the establishment of a common military college for all the colonies; and the introduction for strategical purposes of a uniform railway gauge. Now, it is clear that these objects can only be carried out by a common central authority of some kind, and at present the only central authority which exists is the so-called Australian Federal Council, in which New South Wales has steadily refused to be represented. "Now," says Sir Henry Parkes, "why not throw overboard this sham council, which has no real executive power, which cannot command our troops, which cannot control a national system of defence, which is only, in fact, a sort of deliberative congress: why not get rid of this altogether and consider the question of a real federation of the colonies?" The question of defence, when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of prejudices or preferences, face to face with the necessity for federal government; and "why," he continues, "should we turn aside from what is inevitable in the nature of our onward progress? It must come, a year or two later possibly, but in any case soon." The New South Wales Premier goes on to suggest that a formal intercolonial convention, consisting of six members from each colony, should be assembled in order to consider a scheme of Federal Government more or less on the Canadian type. In fact, if all succeeds as Sir Henry Parkes hopes, before long there will be another great dominion under the British Crown—the Dominion of Australia, not much inferior in resources and population to the Dominion of Canada.

That the movement is a healthy one is, on the whole, clear enough. If there is to be an Australian people instead of merely a collection o small provinces, there must be a common central Government for common purposes. It is, perhaps, not quite so clear why the system of union

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The St. James' Gazette—*continued.*

should be federal. Federalism is very much in favour just now; but it is nowhere a complete success, and in one or two places it has proved uncommonly like a failure. The excuse for adopting it in the case of a number of distinct States like those which constituted the original American Union, or a number of districts, separated by racial and religious differences, as was the case in Canada, is sufficiently valid; but where you have a population practically homogeneous, inhabiting regions not divided from one another by very strongly marked natural or physical peculiarities, it might at least be argued that there is no particular occasion to stereotype the somewhat cumbrous and awkward federal arrangement. An autocratic reformer with a free hand might perhaps decide that the best constitution for Australia would be a single central Government and central Parliament, with county councils for each colony. But as local vanity and local patriotism count for a good deal, it is not to be supposed that any one of the colonies would consent to deprive itself of its legislature, its executive, its government, its ministry, and all the other paraphernalia of statehood. At any rate, Australian union, whether it comes by federation or by some other means, is a consummation which Englishmen and English politicians need not regard with anything but pleasure. It is true that each successive step towards the federation of a group of colonies increases their tendency to national existence and to national self-consciousness. The Australians have been frank enough in their dealings with the Home Government for some time past, and if they are federalised no doubt they will make known their wishes and their views with more bluntness and candour than ever. Even in the memorandum to which we refer, Sir Henry Parkes says plainly that the colonies would "never consent" to allow the Imperial Government to exercise any control over an Australian army. In fact, a central Australian Federal Congress would be a body very little inclined to receive direction either from the Imperial Parliament or from its nominees, the ministry of the day. It would be, from one point of view, a long step forward towards the goal of colonial separation; but then, from another point of view, it might also be a step towards the somewhat shadowy ideal of Imperial Federation. It would be easier to deal with half a dozen great colonial congresses, bearing some proportion in dignity and importance to the Imperial Parliament itself, than with three or four and twenty trumpery little provincial legislatures. By whatever means the "golden link" is eventually found which will bind together, more

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The St. James' Gazette—*continued.*

securely than by the complicated and insecure strands of the Colonial Office, the various members of the empire, it is more likely to be fashioned by Dominion Parliaments than by small local assemblies. For these reasons the action of the energetic New South Wales Premier will be watched both with sympathy and interest in this country. How he will succeed in bringing protectionist Victoria and free trading New South Wales under the same government we confess we do not quite see. But if he does succeed he will have done good service to the whole of the Anglo-Saxon world. The federation of a group of contiguous colonies is a good thing in itself, and a better thing if it offers some prospect of leading to the eventual federation of the Empire.

Pall Mall Gazette—

November 4th, 1889.

By far the most important piece of news to-day is the despatch which Sir Henry Parkes has addressed to the Premiers of the other Australian colonies on the subject of federation. By an instructive coincidence the publication of this despatch has occurred simultaneously with the report of the festivities given by the Sultan to the German Emperor. It shows how little the real drift of Imperial affairs and the true perspective of Imperial concerns are understood as yet among us, that the two chief organs of a government which professes above all things to be Imperialist should devote columns of criticism this morning to chances and changes in Eastern Europe, but have not a word to say on the new departure taken at the Antipodes. Decidedly Europe is too much with us. Except so far as it offers a field for coming to a friendly understanding with Russia, the future of Eastern Europe is no concern of ours; but the future of Australia is of enormous concern every way, both in itself—as a greater England—and for its bearing on the Empire as a whole. But for all that our statesmen, and the journals who reflect their views, and the public which takes its cue from the journals, will be far more interested in taking count of the turn of the German Emperor's phrases and of estimating the value of the Sultan's smiles than in watching the development of a policy which, conceived in the fertile brain of Sir Henry Parkes, may be destined to mould the future of the whole British Empire.

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Pall Mall Gazette—*continued.*

Unlike Mr. Gladstone, who is out of office, Sir Henry Parkes, being in office, has tabled his plan. Some of it is contained in the despatch which is published this morning; the rest of it was explained in the remarkable speech which he delivered two or three months ago in connection with the Western Australia Bill. It is essential, to a right understanding of the matter, to read the two documents together. The despatch, which appears in to-day's papers, suggests that the time has come for superseding the existing "Federal Council" of Australia by a genuine federation of all the Australian Colonies—with New Zealand, if possible, included—on the Canadian basis. That is what Sir Henry Parkes proposes in the present; but for his view of the future, we must go back to his speech of last summer. We give here the most significant passages:—

"It has always appeared to me—and the more I reflect the more forcibly it appears to me—that there can be no federation except upon a common basis of equality; and that there can be no true and lasting federation by a great central Power—I will not use the word dominant Power—with a number of weaker or inferior Powers. . . . But I do see very clearly that there may come a time, and that time not very remote, when these Australian colonies may be brought into agreement as one great Australian people. I do see a time when the North American colonies may be brought more into the position of one great and united people. I do see a time when the South African colonies may be brought together into one great Anglo-African people. And I see that if a grand and powerful congerie of free communities, such as I have grouped in three parts of the world, becomes steadily formed, they may enter into an alliance with the parent State on something like a broad ground of equality. I see that, I think, clearly enough—that there might be a union of empire on such lines as I have imperfectly foreshadowed, and to which I have called attention on former occasions. . . . . I think there is a promise of unprecedented usefulness for the British people by uniting as one in all parts of the world where our language is spoken."

Sir Henry Parkes, it will thus be seen, is for Imperial Federation, like the rest of us; but he is for federation at two removes. First, the Australian colonies are to federate amongst themselves. Then they are to federate with the mother country. Perhaps the scheme is premature, even in its initial stage. Sir Henry Parkes seems to admit as much himself, when he says, "it must come—a year or two later possibly—but in any case soon." But whether destined to be realized a little sooner or a little later, it marks the line of future development. Sir Henry Parkes has rendered the same kind of service by his despatch as Mr. Gladstone rendered by his Home Rule Bill. He has brought the federation of the Empire within the range of practical politics.

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Pall Mall Gazette—*continued.*

It is impossible to say what answer the colonies will immediately give to Sir Henry Parkes. Every one knows that there is great jealousy between them. New South Wales, it was supposed, held aloof from the so-called "Federal Council" because Victoria had the initiative in it. Now that Sir Henry Parkes has regained the lead, it is possible that Victoria may draw back. But decidedly Sir Henry has the logic of events in his favour. New South Wales always maintained in public that the reason why it held back from the former scheme was that the scheme was futile. The so-called Federal Council was not genuinely representative, and having no executive behind it it had nothing to do. It was, in fact, little more than an intercolonial Debating Society, and Sir Henry Parkes argued that the cause of federation as a measure of serious and practical politics, was not advanced by confusing it with the formation of a Colonial Ministers' Debating Club. The good sense and good faith of Sir Henry Parkes' objections have been shown by the proposal he has now made for converting the semblance of Federation into a reality, and by the fact that the proposal has grown out of a practical difficulty. The Australian Colonies have been organizing their defences, but no machinery exists for placing those defences under a common command or concerting them in a common scheme. It is said by the anti-Imperialists in Australia that a reaction against the policy of sending the New South Wales contingent to the Soudan was the cause of the recent growth of the "nationalism." It looks as if the organization of the defensive contingents would pave the way for merging that national movement into one for federation at two removes.

The Morning Post—

November 4th, 1889.

An important despatch, addressed by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to the Victorian Premier, the Hon. Duncan Gillies, appears in another part of our impression. The exceptionally interesting character of that document it is scarcely necessary to point out. For should the proposal of Sir Henry Parkes be accepted by the Australian Colonies, and become the basis of united action by them, nothing less than an entirely new departure will have been taken in the weighty matter of Australian Federation. In order to understand the proposal

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The Morning Post—*continued.*

now made, it is well to recall the outlines of the existing condition of affairs. In the year 1885 a measure was passed enabling the whole of our colonies in the South Pacific to unite in a scheme of federation. Of this Act they all took advantage, with the exception of New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales, and in January, 1886, the Federal Council thereby constituted held its first meeting. Without going into the details of the legislative powers of that body, it is sufficient to say that they are held by Sir Henry Parkes to be entirely inadequate to the real requirements of Australian Federation. The contention of the Premier of New South Wales is that the provisions of the Federal Council Act are wholly insufficient for the vitally important task of providing for the defence of the colonies. Sir Henry Parkes cannot discover that the Council "possesses the requisite powers to constitute, direct, and control an united Australian army." And even assuming that the Council does possess these powers, there "does not exist, in it or behind it, any form of executive power." That is to say, no machinery exists for combining under one command the scattered and unconnected forces locally maintained by the several colonies, in view of a great common danger. It is true that the Imperial Parliament could constitute a Federal army; but the colonies themselves would not brook Imperial interference with its movements. Hence a vista of fatal complications is opened up to the imagination. The remedy which Sir Henry Parkes proposes for the present unsatisfactory state of things is as follows. Believing that "the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one," he invites Victoria to send representatives to a great national convention "for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government." Sir Henry Parkes has addressed similar despatches to the Premiers of the other colonies, and, in view of that fact, it may be fairly surmised that a most important problem in the development of the destinies of Australia is within measurable distance of a determined attempt at solution. As to the lines of the scheme of Federal Government which Sir Henry Parkes is desirous to see adopted, they would coincide closely, he assumes, with the Canadian type. This would involve the creation of a Governor-General, Privy Council, and a Parliament of two Houses. Combined colonial defence would be the first and chief object of the federation, that being the point—though the most important point of any that could possible come within the purview of such a scheme—in which Australian Federation, in its present incomplete

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The Morning Post—*continued.*

form, is apparently wanting. But, besides this, Sir Henry Parkes adds, the work which such a Federal Government could and would undertake would "include the noblest objects of peaceful and orderly progress." Possibly the existing arrangement may be thought to be equal to the requirements of the various colonies in many respects. But Sir Henry Parkes' indictment of the Act of 1885 from the standpoint of colonial defence, reveals the nakedness of the land to a rather alarming extent. The public will, unquestionably, await with the deepest interest the reception which the bold initiative of Sir Henry Parkes is destined to receive at the hands of the other Australian Premiers.

The Globe—

November 4th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, has issued a circular despatch to the Premiers of the other Australian colonies inviting them to send representatives to a national convention to be called together for the purpose of devising a new scheme of Australian Federation. The existing system is, he thinks, inadequate to the requirements of colonial defence. He cannot concur in the view that the Federal Council, as constituted by the Act of 1885, "possesses the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army." Moreover, there is no form of executive power behind the Council to give effect to any commands it might conceive itself capable of issuing. Sir Henry Parkes therefore, desires a scheme of Federal Government of the Canadian type, with Governor-General, Privy Council, and two Houses of Parliament; in fact, a complete legislative and executive machine, subject only to the supremacy of the Crown, as the only means of securing an adequate system of defence, as well as other benefits, to the Australian Colonies. An excellent idea—as an idea—indeed, and one which will, doubtless, obtain the support, in an abstract and academic way, of everybody in Australia. But practically we are not very sanguine as to the success of Sir Henry Parkes' patriotic attempt. The several colonies, as all the world knows, are unable to agree among themselves, especially with regard to fisca matters. New South Wales and Victoria are at daggers drawn on that score, and those who know both colonies openly scoff at the idea of union between the two for any object whatever. It is needless to add that the

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The Globe—*continued.*

military aspects of the scheme would be matter for most careful consideration on the part of the Imperial Parliament. While, therefore, we wish the Australian Colonies all possible success in their struggle to evolve for themselves the form of Government best suited to them, we must remind them that before they can aspire to a complete system of federation they must learn to forego those mutual dissensions which are an insurmountable obstacle to such a scheme.

Manchester Examiner—

November 4th, 1889.

THE very remarkable letter addressed by the Premier of New South Wales to the Ministerial heads of the other Australian Colonies illustrates the difficulties with which the cause of federation is confronted in our Antipodean possessions. The Premier of Victoria had proposed that the machinery of the Australian Federal Council created by a recent Act should be put into operation for the purpose of giving effect to General Edwards' recommendations for the better defence of all the Australian colonies. Sir Henry Parkes returns an elaborate refusal, which he intimates is an expression of the general opinion of New South Wales, at the same time that he makes an alternative proposal. He objects to the present Federal Council, not only that its statutory powers are inadequate for such a purpose as the management of a common Australian army, but that it blocks the way to a really satisfactory Federal Council being established. What Sir Henry Parkes wants is an Australian Parliament and Executive, modelled on the Canadian pattern. His letter to the Hon. Duncan Gillies was, of course, written in ignorance of the statement recently made by the Marquis of Lorne as to the very serious difficulties experienced in working the Canadian Federal system. More than that, his argument is based at the outset on a refusal to recognise the plain meaning of words. His plea is that, because the clause in the act authorising the Federal Council to take measures for providing a proper system of "general defences" for Australia also refers to such matters as the regulation of weights and measures, therefore the Council has no such power as the words quoted imply. It might just as well be argued that because the connection between elementary education and cattle disease is not quite self-obvious, therefore the British Parlia-

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Manchester Examiner—*continued.*

ment could never have relegated the administration of these matters to one and the same department of the Government. But, unfortunately for Sir Henry Parkes' argument, it did; it was only the other day that the care of cattle disease was taken from under the charge of the Privy Council and committed to a distinct department. Sir Henry Parkes may or may not succeed in his plan for setting up an Australian Confederation which will be independent in all but the name, but it is surely an unpropitious beginning that he should commence by twisting plain words out of their only obvious meaning. The likelihood is that his proposal will lead to a long wrangle between the colonies, for New South Wales cannot be more jealous of her seniority than Victoria is keen to resent any pretension to superiority on her part, while Queensland believes that she is better and more important than either. If these rivals cannot agree upon such a comparatively simple affair as the concerting of measures for common defence, what probability is there of agreement being arrived at on the multitudinous points of diverse interest suggested by Sir Henry Parkes' proposal?

The Daily News—

November 4th, 1889.

THE letter from the Premier of New South Wales to the Premier of Victoria, which we publish this morning, is an important event in the history of our Australasian Colonies. The immediate cause and origin of the document are indeed of secondary interest. But constitutional and political changes often spring from occurrences which seem too small for them, though their real source is at once deep-seated and little suspected. General Edwards, who was sent out to Australia to examine and report upon its means of defence, has recently reported in favour of the federal action of Australian troops. The Prime Minister of Victoria, Mr. Duncan Gillies, at once telegraphed to the Prime Minister of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, suggesting that the provisions of the Federal Councils Act might be employed to carry out the recommendations of General Edwards. Sir Henry Parkes, in his very able and statesmanlike reply, points out that, in his opinion, the Federal Council does not possess the powers attributed to it by Mr. Gillies. Sir Henry Parkes makes out a strong and plausible case, although it must be remembered that he has

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The Daily News—*continued.*

a bias in favour of the view which he so lucidly expounds. He desires the establishment of an institution far more considerable than the Federal Council, and he is therefore naturally predisposed to disbelieve in the adequacy of the Council for the purpose indicated by Mr. Gillies. Sir Henry's argument is briefly this: He finds that in the Act "general defences" are included among a number of delegated subjects, such as weights and measures, and he refuses to infer from a single phrase so placed the right of the Australian continent to set up an army of its own. Sir Henry Parkes opposed the Federal Councils Bill at the time of its preparation, not regarding it as adapted to secure those objects which he has pursued for the last twenty years. He is a federalist, at least so far as Australia is concerned, and he dislikes the Federal Councils Act as stereotyping a sham federalism. New South Wales will have nothing to do with it. Few people will, we suppose, deny, whether they like federation or dislike it, that the Act of 1885 was a very small and tentative measure. We see no answer to the contention of Sir Henry Parkes that even if the Federal Council could order the enrolment of an Australian army there is no executive force to carry out its decrees. While cordially concurring with General Edwards' advice, and holding it essential to the safety of Australia, Sir Henry Parkes is convinced that it cannot at present be followed:—

"The Executive Governments of the several colonies," he says, "could not act in combination for any such purpose, nor could they so act independently of each other."

The Federal Council is helpless; and thus, by a process of exhaustion, Sir Henry arrives at the depressing conclusion that nothing can be done.

He proceeds to deal with the obvious suggestion that Parliament might constitute a federal army. "But," he significantly observes, "the colonies would never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering with the direction of its movements." This emphatic declaration may be commended to the notice of those who think that spick and span contrivances for "federalising the Empire" can be exported from a benevolent metropolis to her aspiring offshoots. Her Majesty's Australian subjects are doubtless extremely loyal, but they are also extremely businesslike, and no sentiment of the "hands all round" type will induce them to forego one jot or tittle of their practical independence. Sir Henry Parkes, who picks his way with admirable astuteness over the hidden pitfalls and smouldering ashes of this burning question, suddenly finds

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The Daily News—*continued.*

himself, with skilfully simulated surprise, "face to face" with the alternative of Federal Government. "Why," he asks, "should we turn aside from what is inevitable?" We might answer that death is inevitable, but that wise men do not live in constant contemplation of it. Sir Henry Parkes, however, is convinced in the first place that Australasian Federation will come very soon, and, in the second place, that it is eminently desirable. He urges upon the Premiers of the sister colonies that "the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one." It is difficult to say how far Sir Henry Parkes represents in this respect the public opinion of the great continent which has been civilised and cultivated by English enterprise, or of the islands of Tasmania and New Zealand. Hitherto the issue of protection *versus* free trade, differently regarded in New South Wales and in Victoria, has been an apparently insuperable obstacle. Now, Sir Henry Parkes with warmth and sincerity invites Mr. Gillies

"to appoint representatives of Victoria to a National Convention for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government."

Sir Henry Parkes must have had his plan ready for some time. He is prepared not only with principles but even with details. He proposes that each colony should send six representatives nominated by its Parliament in equal proportions from both political parties. Four of the six would come from the Assembly, and two from the Council; while Western Australia, which has only one Chamber, and that not a democratic one, would be sufficiently represented by four delegates.

The most satisfactory feature of these proposals is that they come from Australia herself, and not from the Mother country. If any English statesman, however eminent, had laid it down as a maxim that there should be a Governor-General of Australasia, with a Senate, a House of Commons, and a Privy Council, he would have been open to a just charge of presumptuous meddling. It remains to be seen whether Sir Henry Parkes' letter will obtain active support from Victoria or from New Zealand. But without New Zealand the combination would be fatally incomplete. Nothing, says Sir Henry Parkes, will ever persuade New South Wales to enter the present Federal Council, so useless does she regard it. But the other colonies have entered it, and their progress towards federalism is therefore, by the hypothesis, not so far advanced. The analogy, from which Sir Henry Parkes reasons, is the

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The Daily News—*continued.*

Dominion of Canada, and certainly the parallel is an ingenious one. There are, of course, many points of difference, and all political analogies have an inherent weakness of their own. While on the one hand Canada is compact, and does not include two islands a thousand miles from the continent, on the other hand the Australian Governments have no such discordant element to deal with as the French Canadians. The matter is entirely within the proper competence of Australasian opinion, and the Imperial Parliament will gladly ratify any conclusion at which the Australian colonies may jointly arrive. We shall hear on this occasion no factious nonsense about the dismemberment of the Empire, and Sir Henry Parkes will not be accused of conspiracy with traitors or murderers. It is just as well that stay-at-home Britons should be reminded from time to time what a speck Ireland is in the dominions of the Queen. To Irishmen Home Rule is vital, and therefore Englishmen are bound to examine it with care. But the idle talk about "disintegration" is not so much controversial intemperance as sheer lunacy. The separation of Ireland from Great Britain would be disastrous to the smaller country, and is, happily, impossible. Irishmen have fought side by side with us, and if necessary would do so again. A power so vast, so comprehensive, so irresistible as the British Empire would be if its scattered forces were combined, excites irreverent laughter when it betrays symptoms of panic over an Irish Parliament. There is no real connection between the policy of Sir Henry Parkes and a brand new Constitution, with a Federal Legislature at Westminster. That may or may not come in the course of ages. The Australian Federation proposed by Sir Henry Parkes, though it has been stimulated by military necessity, will, if adopted, be still more fruitful in promoting the peaceful progress of communities with so great a future before them.

The Star (London)—

November 4th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes has started a big ball rolling in Australia. The military adviser whom we sent out to advise the Australians on a common scheme of national defence has reported in favour of a Federal Australian army, and Sir Henry Parkes takes up the cue and boldly tells the

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The Star (London)—*continued.*

colonies that the time has come for a federated Australia. He does more; he invites a representative conference of all the colonies to consider the question, and he indicates the direction which the movement should take by pointing to the Canadian Federation, with a glance still more significant at the Constitution of the nited States.

On the reception given to this document by the sister colonies will depend the future of Australia for many years to come. The time is ripe for a movement of this kind. It has been in the air for some time past. The colonies have obviously reached a period of development when, if they are not to grow up into a series of disunited, rival, and mutually jealous states on the European pattern, some new bond of union must be found in place of the ever-weakening connection with the mother country. The feeble effort in this direction made by the Federal Councils Act of 1885 has been tried and found wanting. New South Wales wisely stood out of the arrangement thus created. Her wisdom is shown by Sir Henry Parkes' conclusive demonstration to-day, that for one of the first and most important duties of a federated authority—the control of the defences of the federation—this nondescript council has neither the authority nor the machinery. The only solution of the difficulty is a real Federal Government, with a central Executive, Council, and Parliament.

WHAT will our Imperialists over here say to this? They are silent on the subject this morning. The *Morning Post* gives Sir Henry Parkes an article, but carefully refrains from committing itself to any definite view. The *Pall Mall Gazette* will be thinking it over while we are writing. But we can safely assure them all of this, that if a federated Australia comes it will not be a step in the direction of Imperial Federation as Imperial Federation is now understood. The very man who starts the movement has recorded his opinion that Imperial Federation is an empty dream. Sir Henry Parkes is all against "cutting the painter"; but, in spite of that, he is proposing the first step to the creation of a United States of Australia. It may be as some Australian Radicals believe, that this great Federal State, if it ever comes, will in turn enter into a federal alliance with the United Kingdom; but everything points to the conclusion that the only federation of this kind which can come is a federation of *independent* states, into which the Australian States might enter on the same footing as the United States of America. But this is a matter for the twentieth century or the twenty-first.

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Edinburgh Evening Despatch—

November 4th, 1889.

THE telegraphic announcement from Sydney that Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, had at length intimated the adherence of that colony to the principle of Australian Federation is an event of first-rate magnitude. Practically it removes the last formidable obstacle to the ultimate adoption of that great scheme, which should prove a worthy rival of that which has brought strength and prosperity to the Dominion of Canada. New South Wales, for certain reasons of its own, has hitherto been the only colony to hold aloof from the federation movement, but, of course, its opposition was fatal. What are the motives which have produced this sudden change of position are not fully explained, though they are not difficult to divine. New South Wales has remained staunch to Free-trade, while the other colonies, and especially Victoria, have been wedded to Protection. Unfortunately the Protectionist feeling in New South Wales has been rapidly gaining ground, the position of the Ministry is becoming less certain, and considerable discontent has been created by the mismanagement of the railways and several public departments. Various boundary questions also, such as the withdrawal of water from the sources of the Murray for irrigation purposes, and the inconveniences of the rival tariff arrangements, have likewise produced a feeling that sooner or later something must be attempted to remove the constant and annoying friction. Sir H. Parkes now admits that federation must soon come, and he loyally offers to facilitate its accomplishment by suggesting a National Convention, at which the colonies shall be equally represented, to consider and report on the question. Many very critical details have still to be settled, and grave difficulties and jealousies to be overcome before federation can be a fact; though, if it is taken up in the spirit displayed by Sir Henry Parkes, there is every prospect of its triumphant success.

The Evening News (Glasgow)—

November 4th, 1889.

AN important development in Australian politics is announced to-day. Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed to the other Premiers of Australia an invitation to join in "an adequate scheme of Federal Government." Sir Henry declares that there is an imperative

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The Evening News (Glasgow)—*continued.*

necessity for such a scheme. He believes that the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one, and he accordingly proposes, as an initial measure, a national convention [of the various colonies, with the view of devising a suitable measure. There is no cause for surprise in this movement. It is natural that the Australians should desire to make the very best of their unexampled opportunities as the pioneers of the New World of the South, and, even if the measure suggested were inimical to the interests of the mother-country, it would be unfair to condemn those who are only discharging their duty. Of course, it is not yet certain that the other colonies will agree to Sir Henry Parkes' proposal, and until then it will be premature to closely scrutinize a scheme which is yet but in outlines.

Meanwhile it may be noted that the primary purpose animating Sir Henry Parkes has been that of providing Australia with an effective land defence. The present comparative helplessness of the island-continent is really an important consideration. In the event of a war between Britain and a Continental Power, it is likely enough that telegraphic communication would be early destroyed, and as the Home force would be too busily engaged in Europe to permit of much aid being offered to the colonies, the Britain across the seas would have to rely largely upon its own exertions for any defensive operations that might be necessary. Some preparations in the way of coast protection have, with the aid of the mother-country, already been made, but Sir Henry Parkes has perceived that without an effective land force Australia might still be placed in a position of great jeopardy. His immediate idea is a federal measure of defence, which would entail a combination of the various colonial forces into one consolidated Australian army, ready for the general protection. The enrolment of such a force might offer some obstacles, but Sir Henry is hopeful of overcoming these. Federation for this purpose would probably be only the preliminary to federation for many other purposes, and on all of these, provided they are legitimately intended for the welfare of the colonies, the mother-country can look with a favourite eye. It is inevitable that the Australia of the future shall be more cohesive than is the case now, and whatever the precise relations may be between the Australians and ourselves, this is one of those natural contingencies to which it is neither desirable nor useful to object.

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The Times—

November 5th, 1889.

THE important despatch from Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to Mr. Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, seems to bring us an appreciable step nearer to the federation of the Australian Colonies. Sir Henry Parkes has already shown that consolidation in a federal union is, in his judgment, the natural line of evolution, what would be called in America the manifest destiny of the Australian polity. He has been, as he says, a federalist for more than twenty years, and he gave excellent and eloquent reasons for the faith that is in him in a speech delivered last August in the Parliament of his own colony, and printed in our columns about six weeks ago. On the other hand, New South Wales has not hitherto taken kindly, and does not even now take kindly, to the embryo scheme of federation embodied in the Act passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1885 for the constitution of a Federal Council in Australasia. "In my judgment," says Sir Henry Parkes, frankly and emphatically enough, "there is no person and no party here that could persuade Parliament to sanction the representation of this colony in the present Federal Council." The explanation of this apparent contradiction is not far to seek. The present movement towards federation in Australia has acquired force and volume from circumstances not adequately provided for in the Federal Council of the Australasia Act. The Council constituted by the Act is weak as a legislature because its enactments only become law by the assent of the colonies affected, and, as Sir Henry Parkes points out, "there does not exist in it or behind it any form of executive power." For this and other reasons New South Wales has declined, and still declines, to send representatives to the Council. But a question of vital importance to Australia as a whole has arisen, which forces Australian statesmen again to look closely and seriously at the problem of federation. This is the question of general defence. General Edwards has recommended that the general defence of Australian territory should be made a matter of common concern to all the Australian Colonies. The Government of Victoria appear to think that the Federal Council possesses the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army. In this view Sir Henry Parkes finds himself unable to concur. He recognizes, on the other hand, that the question must be faced. He examines in succession the several alternatives, such as the creation of a common army either by the Federal Council or by the Imperial Parliament, or the combination of the several Executive

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The Times—*continued.*

Governments, otherwise independent, for the purpose of creating and controlling a common army. All these he rejects for reasons of undoubted cogency, and he is thus driven to the conclusion that, a common army being necessary for the purpose of the economical and effective defence of Australian territory, that necessity leads by irresistible sequence to federation. "Hence, then," he says, "this first great federal question, when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of preferences and prejudices, face to face with the imperative necessity for Federal Government, and why should we turn aside from what is inevitable?"

The reasoning is cogent, and the practical consequences may be, indeed we should rather say must be, momentous. It is possible, of course, that sectional and separatist tendencies may still prevail for a time, and that the Colony of Victoria, which has taken more or less kindly to the Federal Council, may not take kindly at the outset to a proposal for federation in a different form which comes from New South Wales. But it can hardly be doubted that evolution in the federal direction is indicated as the future destiny of the Australian Colonies alike by history, analogy, and the normal tendency of events. On this fundamental point Sir Henry Parkes and Mr. Gillies appeared to be essentially at one. The only difference is that Mr. Gillies and the Government of Victoria seem ready to take the existing Federal Council as the germ of the future polity, while Sir Henry Parkes would start afresh and summon a National Convention, in which all the colonies should be equally represented, for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. The difference is considerable, and its adjustment may impede further progress for a time, but it is not in any way vital. Federal Government arises, as Professor Dicey has pointed out, when the several states participating in it desire union without desiring unity. The first condition is absolutely indispensable. Without an effective desire for union, capable of overcoming such exceptional and separatist tendencies as are involved in not desiring unity, no federation is possible. It remains to be seen, then, whether such an effective desire for unity exists in the Australian Colonies generally, and, perhaps, as the Federal Council Act has proved a comparative failure, and is, in the judgment of the Government and people of New South Wales, unworkable, no better method of testing the strength of the desire for union could be devised than the summoning of such a National Convention as Sir Henry Parkes suggests. If the several colonies accept the invitation, it

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The Times—*continued.*

is clear that they are *primâ facie* willing to consider the expediency and feasibility of entering into the federal bond. If they decline it, it is equally clear that the question has been prematurely raised. The matter is therefore entirely in the hands of the colonies themselves. If they desire union without being willing to sacrifice their individual and independent existence as self-governing communities, such union is possible, and only possible, through federation. If they desire no such union, *cadit quæstio.* But the desire for union, however feeble at the outset, must inevitably be quickened by the growing necessity for common defence. This is the strength of Sir Henry Parkes' position. He has found in the need for common defence, as the American colonies found over a century ago, a strong centripetal impulse and a powerful counterpoise to separatist tendencies. Accordingly, he invites each colony to send six representatives, appointed by Parliament, and chosen in equal numbers from each of the two political parties, to the proposed National Convention, four members being taken from the Assembly, and two from the Council in each colony. Western Australia, having only one House, might, he suggests, only send four representatives; and thus, if New Zealand thought proper to join the Convention, the total number of representatives would be forty. This Convention would be empowered to discuss and recommend for adoption a form of Federal Constitution. "The scheme of Federal Government, it is assumed, would necessarily follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Commons."

Such is, in outline, the origin and character of that federal movement with which Sir Henry Parkes, one of the foremost of Australian statesmen, has now definitely identified himself. It is premature as yet even to attempt to forecast what may be its issue, proximate or remote. The other colonies may decline the invitation. That will be a sign, either that the movement is still premature, or that the colonies in general prefer, with Victoria, to work on the lines of the Federal Council. Or they may consent to enter the Convention, and then find themselves unable to agree. A Federal Constitution is no easy thing to frame even with the assistance of what Sir Henry Parkes calls "the rich stores of political knowledge which were collected by the framers of the Constitution of the United States"; and there is this important difference

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The Times—*continued.*

between Australia and the United States, that the United States were an independent and sovereign community at the time their Constitution was framed, whereas the Australian Colonies are, and desire to remain, united to the mother country. That difference, however, proved no insuperable obstacle to the federation of the Canadian Dominion, and need not, therefore, cause any greater difficulty in the case of the Australian Colonies. The people of this country recognize that the question of federation is one to be mainly resolved in and by the colonies themselves, and it is obvious that many practical difficulties which now beset the Colonial Office in its relations with the separate colonies would be smoothed over by the union of the colonies in a single confederation. The real difficulties in the way of federation will be found on the spot and not at home. The experience of the United States and of the Canadian Dominion will serve not only as an example, but also as a warning. The Constitution of the United States is not without its defects, some of them little foreseen by its framers, and federal institutions in Canada have not worked altogether without friction, as the records of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would show. It will tax the ingenuity of Australian constitutional statesmen to improve upon previous federal experience, and to avoid errors into which their predecessors have fallen, while the circumstances of Australia will present special difficulties of their own. Of these—to mention only a few—the selection of a capital will be one, and the adjustment of a federal tariff will be another. Will Victoria be willing to concede supremacy to seniority and to recognize Sydney as the Australian capital and the seat of Federal Government, and will New South Wales, on the other hand, consent so far to abandon her Free-trade principles as to leave the external tariff an open question, to be settled possibly, not to say probably, in a Protectionist sense, in return for the establishment of intercolonial Free-trade? These are questions which will immediately arise as between New South Wales and Victoria. Other questions of equal difficulty and importance will arise between these colonies and their neighbours. Such questions are not insoluble, as experience shows, where the desire for union is strong enough to induce compromise, accommodation, and mutual concession; but their existence and the necessity for their solution suffice to show that it is one thing to propose federation and another to accomplish it. Nevertheless it is impossible for Englishmen not to wish well to this new movement in favour of Australian Federation. Sir Henry Parkes is a capable

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The Times—*continued.*

statesman, and his judgment is entitled to all respect when he pronounces the time to be ripe and the method to be feasible. If that is so, the difficulties will gradually disappear, and the Federation of the Australian Colonies will before long be accomplished.

The Standard—

November 5th, 1889.

THE despatch addressed by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to the Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Victorian Premier, and to the Premiers of the other Australasian Colonies on the subject of Australian Federation, will be read in this country with sympathetic interest, with absolute dispassionateness, and, we may add, with a certain amount of sceptical curiosity. It has been provoked by the invitation of the Victorian Cabinet to bring the machinery of the Federal Council into operation, for the purpose of giving effect to the recommendations of General Edwards for the combined action of the various Australian troops. The Premier of New South Wales doubts, in the first place, the legal competency of the machinery thus appealed to; and, in the second place, he states bluntly that the Parliament of New South Wales could never be persuaded to change its resolution not to be represented in the Federal Council. Finally, he suggests the creation of a totally different method for the Federal action of the Australasian Colonies. Before, however, explaining and commenting on his suggestions, we think it necessary to point out what is the Federal Council to which Victoria makes appeal, and which New South Wales altogether refuses to recognize. Four years ago, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act, known as "The Federal Council Act of Australasia." In the preamble of that measure it was recited that it had become expedient to constitute a Federal Council of Australasia, for the purpose of dealing with such matters of common Australasian interest, in respect to which united action is desirable, as can be dealt with without unduly interfering with the management of the internal affairs of the several colonies by their respective Legislatures. It was then enacted that there shall be in and for her Majesty's Possessions in Australasia a body called the Federal Council of Australasia, possessing certain functions, power, and authority, which the Act proceeded to define. Each colony was to be represented in the

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The Standard—*continued.*

Council by two members, except in the case of Crown Colonies, which were to be represented by one member each; the number of representatives to be increased by her Majesty, by an Order in Council, at the request of the Legislatures of the colonies. We need not recapitulate the matters which are declared to be within the limits of the functions of the Federal Council; for hitherto, owing to the refusal of New South Wales and New Zealand to be represented, it has had only a partial and tentative existence. Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji availed themselves of the provisions of the Act, but it is obvious that the absence of representatives from so important a colony as New South Wales must have rendered their co-operation imperfect, if not nugatory. In the conclusion of his despatch Sir Henry Parkes remarks, "Permit me to say that you place much too high an estimate on my individual influence, if you suppose that the accession of New South Wales to the Federal Council rests with me. In my judgment, there is no person and no party here that could persuade Parliament to sanction the representation of this colony in the present Federal Council."

It must not be supposed, however, that this reluctance, thus forcibly expressed, arose out of any objection on the part of New South Wales to Australian Federation. On the contrary, Sir Henry Parkes seizes on the occasion to show how eager the colony of which he is Premier is to attain and promote that object. We need not waste time in following him through his contention that the Federal Council does not possess the requisite legal power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian Army; for, though we confess ourselves unconverted by his arguments, we are free to allow that, as he contends, "there does not exist in it, or behind it, any form of executive power," and that the creation of such authority would be extremely difficult. What confers real and lasting interest on the despatch of Sir Henry Parkes is the proposal it contains for an entirely different method of procedure, aiming at a much larger and wider end. In spite of preferences or prejudices, he says, Australians find themselves, when they look at the matter fairly and frankly, face to face with the imperative necessity of a Federal Government; and why, he asks, should people turn away from the inevitable? But Sir Henry goes still further. He expresses the opinion that the time is ripe for consolidating the various Australian Colonies into one; and he invites the Victorian Cabinet to appoint representatives to what he calls a National Convention, for the purpose of devising and reporting on an

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The Standard—*continued.*

adequate scheme of Federal Government. His plan is, that in order to conciliate all the Colonies, and to avoid inflicting on them any sense of inequality, the number of representatives from each Colony shall be the same, and that the number in each case shall be six, equally chosen from both sides of political life. He suggests, moreover, that four of them might be taken from the Legislative Assembly of the colony, and two from the Legislative Council. The scheme of Federal Government to be aimed at would follow close on the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council, and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and of a House of Commons. In a word, by way of answer to the proposal of partial and experimental federal action on certain matters, Sir Henry Parkes submits and urges a scheme of wholesale and complete federation, which would deal not only with the question of military defence, but would lift the colonies to a higher level of national life, increase their prosperity, add to their dignity, and deepen their consciousness of a common existence, common interests, and a common future.

It may be said at once that the question is one wholly and entirely for the Australian Colonies to consider and decide among themselves. The mother country will neither raise nor feel any objection to their closer union among themselves. Whatever they can agree upon will receive the cordial endorsement of the Crown and of the English people. But following the various expressions of opinion already uttered by our kindred at the other side of the world, we cannot help thinking that the time is by no means so "ripe" for genuine Australian Federation as Sir Henry Parkes believes it to be. It is in vain that the Colonies of Australia are agreed upon the desirability of a closer bond of union, so long as they are completely at issue as to what form and character that union is to take. All the world over, men are found to be in tolerable accord concerning what are called principles of government. The difficulty and the discord begin when the attempt is made to apply them. Hitherto, the important Colonies of Victoria and of New South Wales have manifested a disposition to pull in different directions, and it can hardly be doubted that this divergence arises, consciously or unconsciously, from the latent wish in both of them to play the part of leading Colony in Australasia. We do not say that the Protectionist views of Melbourne, and the Free-trade proclivities of Sydney, do not spring from something deeper than the antagonism that arises from rivalry. But it is impossible

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The Standard—*continued.*

to review the relations of those two colonies with each other, and with the other less populous and less prosperous colonies, without coming to the conclusion that in each case the sense of their own importance is calculated to stand in the way of the early fulfilment of such a scheme as is indicated in the despatch of Sir Henry Parkes. At the same time, the difficulty which is so obvious may, in due course, be overcome. The mother country can do little or nothing either to accelerate or to retard the growth of Australian Federation. But it is satisfactory to know that should what is now but a dream and an aspiration become a reality, it will be just as easy for England to cultivate parental relations with an Australian Dominion as it now is to maintain them with a number of separate colonies. The bond that unites the colonies to the mother country is one of affection, tradition, and sentiment; and we see no reason why that should be in the smallest degree weakened by any arrangement the colonies may come to among themselves. England is proud of its strong, brave, enterprising children in the Pacific; nor are they likely to do anything to lessen that pride, or to lessen the force of what may honestly be called a reciprocal attachment.

The Morning Advertiser—

November 5th, 1889.

WHY should not Australia form a great federation, like the Dominion of Canada? The question has often been raised, both in the Australian Colonies and in the mother country, and it is one of enormous importance. There have been difficulties hitherto which have appeared insurmountable for the present, and it is by no means certain that they are capable of being surmounted now. The correspondence which has passed between the Premiers of New South Wales and Victoria, and especially the despatch from the former to the sister colonies which we published yesterday, prove, however, that a strong desire exists in the colonial mind for the achievement of the object. New South Wales has up to this time refused to have anything to do with the Federal Council, which finds favour with the Victorians, and Sir Henry Parkes avows his conviction that there is no party or individual in that colony who could persuade the Colonial Parliament to alter its policy in this respect. The vital objection to the Council, according to the politicians at Sydney, is that it has

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The Morning Advertiser—*continued.*

no coercive jurisdiction. It does not possess the power of enforcing its decisions, and there is no authority behind it capable of doing so. Sir Henry Parkes and those who agree with him want to have a real Federal Government, if there is to be any federation at all. This would mean, of course, the consolidation of all the Australian Colonies into a single State, with two Houses of Parliament and a Federal Executive, each Colony remaining a self-governing country for the purpose of managing its own internal affairs. The principle has now been in operation in Canada for a good many years, and, despite a little friction now and then, it has undoubtedly worked well. The time has now arrived, in the opinion of Sir Henry Parkes, for applying it to Australia, and he invites the co-operation of all the Colonies for the purpose of elaborating a plan to carry the idea into effect. Federal union is, he maintains, inevitable sooner or later, and why should not the question be faced at once? The New South Wales Premier has sketched out the first steps to be taken, and it will be for the other Colonies to accept, modify, or reject his proposals.

The first thing to be done is to arrange for a conference, and in the constitution of such a conference, Sir Henry Parkes proposes that all the Colonies should be equally represented. He suggests that six delegates should be commissioned from each of them, four selected from the representative Assembly—two from the Ministerial side, and two from the Opposition—and two from the Legislative Council, one selected from the majority and the other from the minority. In the case of Western Australia, where there is but one legislative chamber, four members might, perhaps be considered a sufficient representation. If New Zealand came into the scheme the conference would consist of forty members. Its work would, of course, be deliberative only. Sir Henry Parkes suggests that the Canadian example would naturally present itself as the type to be followed in the construction of a Federal Constitution, while "the rich stores of political knowledge which were collected by the framers of the Constitution of the United States would be largely resorted to, as well as the vast accumulation of learning on cognate subjects since that time." If the delegates were able to agree, the results of their discussion would have to be approved by the several colonial Legislatures and sanctioned by the Imperial Government. The response to Sir Henry Parkes' appeal will be looked for with interest both in the Colonies and at home. We cannot pretend to guess what sort of reception the suggestion will obtain.

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The Morning Advertiser—*continued.*

It may be that the time for consolidating the Australias into one, to use its author's phrase, is not so fully come as he imagines. There may be separate interests or prejudices which will prove too strong even for the convocation of a conference, and, if the conference should really be held, these separate interests or prejudices may prove insuperable obstacles to union. Only a very wide and minute acquaintance with colonial opinion could justify a confident judgment upon either point. The matter is entirely one for the colonists themselves to decide, and we in this country are, of course, prepared to leave it altogether to their decision. We could not coerce them if we would, and there is assuredly no desire to do so. But, with the example of Canada before us, we cannot but think that federation is the sound policy for the Australians to pursue, whether it is to come next year, the year after, or in ten years hence. We quite agree with Sir Henry Parkes that it will have to come, and should be pleased to find that colonial opinion is sufficiently ripe to bring it about at an early period. The greater scheme of the federation of the whole empire cannot be retarded by the closer union of those provinces which are most nearly connected with each other, and, if the idea is capable of being realized at all, should be accelerated by it.

The Aberdeen Free Press—

November 5th, 1889.

THE letter which Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed to the First Ministers of the other Australasian Colonies, marks an important stage in the creation of a united Australasia. It has for many years been a matter of conviction to intelligent observers of the political movements of the time, that at no very distant date the various Colonies of Australasia would unite into a single State. Union in these days is a law and necessity of progress. Every great and progressive country on the face of the earth supplies an illustration of the fact. On the continent of Europe we have the instructive cases of Germany and Italy, and in America those of the United States—in which the central authority is rapidly growing in power and in popular confidence at the cost of the sectional and subordinate state authorities—and Canada. Another illustration of a different but not less instructive sort, is furnished by the case of the Turkish empire. Here we have not union, but disin-

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The Aberdeen Free Press—*continued.*

tegration—the cutting off here and there of slices of territory and their establishment into "autonomous"—soon to be independent—States, or their incorporation with other and neighbouring countries—a process the reverse of what is to be witnessed elsewhere, and the result of the decay and dissolution of the Ottoman power. It is not the least weighty of the considerations relating to the Home Rule controversy in this country that we have to go to Turkey—a nation that is notoriously in a moribund condition—to find a parallel for the measure proposed for the parliamentary disintegration of the United Kingdom. In Australia, as in every healthy and progressive country, the political forces of the time are making, not for disintegration, but for union—not for the greater independence or separateness of the several sections, but for the sinking of existing differences and the building up of the whole into a single and homogeneous state. Of necessity, in such a process the first stage must be that of federation. It would be impossible, and would be inexpedient even if possible, to advance at one step from the condition of absolute independence of each other which at present exists to the fusion or amalgamation of the several colonies into a single State. The law of nature, in the political and social as in the physical world, is that of progress by growth; and the federal union of a group of political communities is a fit and natural and even necessary preliminary to their attainment of the higher and more perfect form of organic development. There is no reason to doubt that in Australia, as in the United States and elsewhere, experience will show that between the purely local authorities on the one hand and the Federal Parliament and Executive on the other the part to be played to any useful purpose by the provincial governments will be one of ever diminishing importance and utility.

The first definite step taken in the union of Australia was the formation at the Colonial Conference of three or four years ago of the present Federal Council. That body, as is known, has no executive authority, and merely exists for purposes of deliberation and the discussion of matters of common interest to the several colonies. But if it has done little in one sense, it has done a great deal in another in familiarizing the Australians with the idea of federation or union, and in directing attention to the many matters in regard to which the interests of the people as a whole would be promoted by the existence of a strong, central, representative government. The Federal Council was certain to develop in time into a Federal Government of this kind, and the process of

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The Aberdeen Free Press—*continued.*

development promises to be more rapid than many could have anticipated. For here is Sir Henry Parkes, who may be described as occupying the first place among the statesmen of Australia and the representatives of Australian political opinion, advocating federation without any circumlocution or reservation whatever, and calling upon his fellow-Ministers of the different colonies to take the matter at once in hand. His letter is in the nature of a manifesto on the subject, and whatever the immediate response of the several colonial Governments may be, it cannot fail to greatly advance opinion and the ultimate realization of the project. The occasion of the despatch being written has been the emergence of a difficulty with respect to the authority of the Federal Council in regard to the "general defences" of the country. Sir Henry Parkes, differing from the Premier of Victoria, does not think that the Council possesses power to direct the creation or control the operations of an army of defence for the whole of Australia. So he goes at once to the root of the matter, and proposes that the Council should be cleared out of the way, and that there should be set up a Federal Government, as to whose possession of the necessary powers no one could raise any question. The different Governments, he points out, could never act in combination for the purpose of general defence, and to the direct interference of the Imperial Government in the matter the colonists "could never consent." Hence, then, he proceeds:—

"This first great federal question, when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of preferences or prejudices, face to face with the imperative necessity for federal government, and why should we turn aside from what is inevitable? In the nature of our onward progress it must come, a year or two later possibly, but in any case soon, I hope. This Government is anxious to work in harmony with the Governments of the sister colonies in the matter under consideration, and desirous of avoiding subordinate questions coloured by party feeling or collateral issues. It is a question to be put to the mind and heart of Australia in view of the destiny of Australia, and a question on which it is to be hoped all sections of the collective population will unite without regard to narrower considerations. Believing that the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one, this Government respectfully invites you to join in taking the first great step—namely, to appoint representatives of Victoria to a National Convention for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government."

The question of defence, Sir Henry Parkes goes on to remark, is only one of many things in respect of which the federation of the colonies would be of great advantage. "The work of a national character which a federal government could, in the interest of all the colonies, most

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The Aberdeen Free Press—*continued.*

beneficially and effectually undertake would include the noblest objects of peaceful and orderly progress, and every year the field of its beneficent operations would be rapidly expanding." It will be observed that Sir Henry speaks not only for himself, but for his Government, and when the Government of the oldest and most important of the Australian Colonies goes so far as to make a definite proposal for the meeting of a "National Convention" to consider the question of federation, we may be sure that colonial opinion is by no means in a backward condition on the subject. The progress of the movement will be watched with interest in this country, and the scheme for the union of Australia into a single state or "nation" will have the best wishes of the British people.

The Aberdeen Journal—

November 5th, 1889.

THE subject of Imperial Federation has been for some years prominently before the public in all parts of the vast empire under the benignant sway of our Empress-Queen; and all sound politicians and patriotic men are agreed as to the desirability of the various parts of the British Empire being knit more closely together. It is, however, generally admitted that the issues involved are so vast and complicated that any attempt to force an abstract scheme prematurely could only end in failure, and would in all probability intensify the evils which it was intended to cure. All sound political thinkers agree in declaring that constitutions grow and cannot be made, and it is therefore evident that a great incorporating union of all parts of the British Empire cannot grow up in a day. There is, however, no reason why all tendencies which make in this direction should not be encouraged. It cannot be denied that a federation of the Australian Colonies would be a most important step towards Imperial Federation, and the letter which Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed to the Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Victorian Premier, and the despatches similar in tone which he has sent to the Premiers of the other Australian Colonies, would seem to indicate that public opinion at the antipodes is tending rapidly in the direction of the federation of the Australian Colonies.

The correspondence took its rise from a telegram from the Victorian Premier relative to a proposal in favour of bringing the machinery of the

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The Aberdeen Journal—*continued.*

Federal Council into operation, for the purpose of giving effect to the recommendations of General Edwards for the federal action of the Australian troops. Sir Henry Parkes frankly admits that, in his opinion, it is exceedingly desirable that there should be a federal Australian army under one command, authorised to act in any part of Australia. He maintains, however, that the Federal Council does not possess the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army. Further, he is of opinion that such authority could not be conferred upon the Federal Council, as it is a purely deliberative body, and has no executive to carry out its decisions. This argument is to all appearance thoroughly sound. He grants that, as a conceivable way out of the difficulty, it is quite possible for the Imperial Parliament, on the application of the colonies, to pass an Act constituting a federal Australian army, and authorising it to operate in any part of Australia; but he argues that the colonies would never consent to the Imperial Executive controlling the movement of such an Australian army. There can be no doubt that in reasoning thus Sir Henry Parkes is interpreting colonial feeling quite correctly, and it is therefore obvious that a united Australian army is only possible under a satisfactory scheme of Australian Federation. By such a view of the situation Sir Henry Parkes shows that Australians are brought face to face with the imperative necessity of Federal Government, and he, therefore, on behalf of New South Wales, invites the other Australian Colonies to appoint representatives to a National Convention for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. Sir Henry Parkes further indicates that in his opinion the scheme of Federal Government would necessarily follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons. This is undoubtedly a very large proposal; but in formulating his scheme Sir Henry Parkes has made it easier for the proposed National Convention to begin its work as soon as it is appointed, as his suggestions can now be considered carefully throughout all the Australian Colonies. We do not for a moment suppose that such large organic changes will be made hurriedly. Nor is it desirable that they should be, but it is satisfactory to see that matters are moving in this direction. There can be no doubt that, when federated, the British Colonies in Australia would, as Sir Henry Parkes maintains, rise to a

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The Aberdeen Journal—*continued.*

higher level of national life, occupy a much larger space in the eyes of the world, and in many ways promote their united power and prosperity. Moreover, the consolidation of such a large and important part of the Greater Britain beyond the seas would add greatly to the influence of the British Empire in the counsels of the world. It would also in all probability pave the way in the more distant future for the larger Imperial Federation. In the matter of Australian Federation, the initiative is coming, as is most essential, from the colonies concerned, and as soon as they are ripe for the change we feel sure that the Imperial Government will readily support the movement.

We have already indicated that, in our opinion, any attempt to grapple in fulness of detail with the subject of Imperial Federation must be deferred to a distant future; but this is no reason why we should not encourage every aspiration, both in the Mother Country and in the colonies, for a closer connection. We have frequently had occasion to insist on the truth of the doctrine that trade follows the flag, and it is well known that our colonies are our best customers. In these days when our products are practically shut out of some foreign countries, and hampered in others through severely restrictive tariffs, our manufacturers are, as a matter of self-interest, bound to give special attention to Colonial markets, and it may fairly be made a question as to whether it is not the duty of British statesmen to give special attention to the development of trading facilities with our colonies. We hear much of the benefits of free trade, and free trade within the bounds of the British Empire, though it might to some extent imply the imposition of restrictive tariffs on foreign goods, might possibly be an ideal worth aiming at. In any case it would, if practicable, be helpful in advancing the prospects of Imperial Federation. In Canada, for example, there is some talk of a scheme for reciprocal free trade with the United States, on the basis that the Canadian tariff against British goods be made as onerous as that of the United States. Would it not be preferable that we should seek to induce our Colonists to repeal the tariffs against us on the understanding that we should give them an advantage over the shippers of the United States in our markets?

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The Birmingham Post—

November 5th, 1889.

AUSTRALIAN Federation, as a step towards Imperial Federation, seems to be brought at length within the reach of practical politics by the statesmanlike letter which Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of the parent colony, has addressed to the Prime Ministers of the other colonies; and as we read his lucid and cogent argument for Federal Government, we feel that we are already within measurable distance of a Dominion of Australia, second only in population and importance to that of Canada. Thus far, it must be confessed, the federal movement has not met with much favour in Australia, and the existing Federal Council serves only to emphasise the difficulties of agreement on such a question by the conspicuous absence from the Board of New South Wales, the oldest, the most liberal, and most progressive of the colonies. This abstention, however, is not due to any want of sympathy with federation in the parent colony, but simply to the conviction of her leading men that a Federal Council without executive authority is a mockery and a delusion; and it is because of the new illustration of this fact furnished by the difficulty of arranging a scheme of colonial defence that Sir Henry Parkes exhorts his fellow-Ministers to abandon the sham for the reality, and to embrace a genuine and practical system of federation. General Edwards, the military commandant of Hong Kong, who had been called in to advise on a comprehensive scheme for the defence of the Australian Colonies, recommended among other things the federation of the several Australian military contingents under the command of a single officer, the adoption of a uniform system of organisation and armament, the establishment of a common military college, and the introduction for strategical purposes of a uniform railway gauge. The wisdom and propriety of these recommendations are recognised on all sides, but it is clearly impossible to have a common army for a number of separate colonies without any sort of nexus or common controlling authority, and therefore it is that the New South Wales Premier urges the substitution of a genuine Federal Parliament, with executive authority, for the present merely consultative body, in which New South Wales is not even represented. This question of colonial defence, he points out, brings us face to face with the necessity for Federal Government; and "Why," he asks, "should we turn aside from what is inevitable in the nature of our onward progress. It must come a year or two later possibly, but soon." Sir Henry goes on to suggest that a formal intercolonial convention,

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The Birmingham Post—*continued.*

consisting of six members from each colony, shall assemble in order to consider a scheme of Federal Government, more or less on the Canadian model, with Governor-General, Privy Council, and two Houses of Parliament, and he suggests that in time a similar solution will probably be found for the kindred problem in South Africa. With a federated Australia, Imperial Federation, if thought desirable, would be a comparatively simple matter; but in any case the bond between the colonies and the parent country would be rendered stronger and closer, and the defence of the colonies be greatly simplified. Whether Sir Henry Parkes' scheme will commend itself to general acceptance by the other colonies at present, we venture to doubt, because of the jealousies, rivalries, and conflicting interests which still divide them, more particularly on tariff questions; but we have little doubt that the more the proposal is considered the more desirable it will appear, and that in a year or two, if not sooner, the good seed which the New South Wales Premier has sown will have taken root and brought forth a valuable harvest, in which the Mother Country will have a share.

The Daily Chronicle (Huddersfield)—

November 5th, 1889.

MOST important to the future of our Empire is the movement now going forward in Australia in favour of one Federal Government for the whole of the Australian Colonies. Even the most enthusiastic of Imperial Federationists has admitted that until local federation is an accomplished fact in Australia and South Africa, it is hopeless to expect its consummation on a larger scale. Difficulties, very similar in character to those which make the federation of the Empire seem an impossible task, beset the path of those who would bring about a federation of the British Colonies in the South Pacific. But there is the case of Canada to show that, hopeless as may appear the accomplishment of such a work, it is one well within the power of determined men to achieve. Local jealousies and local divergencies of opinion are obstacles of no mean kind, but it is possible, by taking a wider view of such matters, to rise superior to mere local considerations, and look upon the benefit of the whole as of infinitely greater importance than the concerns of one colony

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The Daily Chronicle (Huddersfield)—*continued.*

alone. It is satisfactory to find that upon a matter which immediately affects the whole of the colonies the question has been raised. If an agreement is possible upon one subject it should be that of local defence. The Australian Colonies have, in more than one conspicuous instance, shown a gratifying spirit of patriotism, and it may well be that on such a question as the one of defence they will not allow anything but the most extraordinary difficulties to stand in the way of united action. If a common ground of action is found upon one question, it is comparatively easy to secure a similar course upon others. In Australia, as with the Empire at large, customs will certainly be an almost insurmountable obstacle to union. The intercolonial exchange merely adds to the difficulties of the situation. But if the necessity for defence brings the colonies together, the benefits thus conferred upon each will lead to an increase in the subjects upon which united action will be taken. It is easy to think of several—such as postal, railways, telegraphs, coinage, &c., upon which a common ground of work might be found. Upon the advantages of union for defensive purposes there will probably be no difference of opinion. All will agree that in this is a basis for united action which could not be improved upon. It is true that one colony may have a more extended seaboard than another; but all, in the case of war, would be open to attack, and one could not suffer without all being, perhaps indirectly, but nevertheless deeply, affected. The proposal is specially significant, too, because it comes from New South Wales. Even amongst Australian Colonies New South Wales is known as the most progressive, and her influence will do much to forward the movement. Rightly or wrongly, the impression has gone abroad, to the effect that New South Wales has been the great obstacle in the way of Australasian Federation. With that difficulty removed, as it must be to a certain extent when the invitation to a Conference comes from New South Wales and from Sir Henry Parkes, progress ought to be made. The isolation of the Australian Colonies is one from which they have suffered in various ways. Had they been united in one federated whole, Lord Granville would possibly have dealt differently over the New Guinea question to the course he ultimately followed. It will be remembered that Queensland had already taken possession of the island in order that no other European Power should gain a footing in the South Pacific. It is understood that the Colonists withdrew on the distinct understanding that no European Power had any desire to establish a colony in New Guinea. This was

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The Daily Chronicle—*continued.*

followed by German annexation of a portion of the island, and then a British protectorate was proclaimed over what was left. The Australasians look with much jealousy upon the establishment of colonies by other European nations in the South Pacific. They have suffered severely from the near neighbourhood of the French penal settlements of New Caledonia, and do not wish for further experience of a similar kind. A united Australasia would, upon these and other matters, be able to speak with tenfold stronger force than are the isolated colonies, even if, for the nonce, they are united upon one subject. Like older nations, the truth of the proverb that union is strength is making its way with them, and they are beginning to realise the value, both direct and indirect, of being able to speak with effect. Much remains to be done before it will be possible to compliment the Britain of the South upon the possession of a union, which, for all outward purposes, shall be strong and efficient. If Australasian Federation is brought about, it will be a long step towards that more comprehensive federation which all believers in the future of our race must desire.

Hull Eastern Morning News—

November 5th, 1889.

THE idea of Imperial Federation is being rapidly developed. The Prime Minister of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, has just sent a despatch to Mr. Gillies, the Prime Minister of Victoria, in which he makes some practical proposals for federalising the Australias. The necessity for doing this has arisen in a perfectly natural way. The naval defence of Australia has recently been settled "in the spirit of federation," as Mr. W. H. Smith put it, by the agreement of most of the Australian Colonies to maintain ships and crews sent from England for the purpose. The question of an army then arose, and General Edwards, who was sent out, has reported in favour of the federal action of Australian troops. But Sir Henry Parkes says (and says reasonably) that the existing law, the Federal Councils Act, 1885, does not empower any federal authority to enrol troops; and even if they were enrolled, there is no executive to control them. Accordingly, Sir Henry Parkes proposes a convention to consider not only the means of giving effect to

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Hull Eastern Morning News—*continued.*

General Edwards' recommendations, but also the means of consolidating the Australian Colonies, including New Zealand, into one Power. In this convention each colony, he proposes, shall be represented by six delegates, to be taken from the Assembly and the Council from both parties; and four from Western Australia, which only has one House. This would make a total of forty members, who would then have upon them the task of devising a Constitution. Sir Henry Parkes suggests as an analogy the Dominion Government of Canada. This plan is definite enough, and practical enough. It remains to be seen what reply will be given by the Premiers of the other colonies to whom it has been submitted. The late Premier of Victoria expressed himself in favour of Imperial Federation, and so it is to be hoped that the jealousy which is supposed to exist between New South Wales and Victoria will not prevent their acting together on Sir Henry Parkes' proposal. Sir Henry Parkes is known to hold the opinion that each Australian Colony by itself would be too weak to enter into federation with England, but that an united Australia might very well do so. Accordingly, this plan, which he has evidently considered with care, and now sets out in an able despatch, would be the first step towards creating this united Australia. It is Imperial Federation at two removes.

East Anglian Daily Times (Ipswich)—

November 5th, 1889.

ALL doubt about the views of Sir Henry Parkes on the Australian Federation problem is entirely set at rest by the letter which he has addressed to the Premier of Victoria, the colony which stands in much the same relation to New South Wales as did the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim towards each other in Old Testament days. Sir Henry Parkes has been known as an opponent of Australian Federation, and the opposition of this distinguished Colonist has been set down to no better reason than the jealousy of New South Wales, which refused to follow the lead of Victoria, a colony which has already adopted the Federal Council Act. Read in the light of his letter to the Victorian Premier, Sir Henry's opposition to the adoption of that Act assumes a totally different, and altogether more creditable, aspect. He has

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East Anglian Daily Times (Ipswich)—*continued.*

opposed the adoption of the Act because he does not believe in its practical value. The military authority whom the Home Government sent out some time ago to advise the Australian Colonies on the question of their military defence, has reported in favour of a Federal Army for the various Australian Colonies. The Premier of Victoria thereupon telegraphed to Sir Henry Parkes to suggest that this Federal Army should be established under the provisions of the Federal Council Act, the very Act which New South Wales and its Premier have refused to adopt.

Sir Henry Parkes, in response to this request, has sent an elaborate reply, setting forth his reasons for holding that the Federal Army cannot be established under this Act. The reasons he gives show why he has been opposed to its adoption for other matters. The Act does not provide for the establishment of an executive, which means that if the Federal Council did anything at all, it would have to submit to constant interference from England—an interference which the most loyal Colonist would not submit to. Sir Henry shows that he is in earnest for federation on different lines—on the lines, in fact, of the Canadian Dominion—for he invites the various colonies to appoint representatives to discuss how such and such a federation might be arrived at. It is in every way a good thing for England that so great a step forward should have been made in the direction of placing the Australian Colonies in the same mutual relations as those of the Dominion. One great obstacle to the federation of the Empire is that at present the colonies would not meet the Mother Country on anything like equal grounds, and while this is the case, the colonists, not altogether unreasonably, are too jealous of their independence to federate. If, however, a South African and Australian, or better still, Australasian Dominion, were in existence, then they could in a few years meet us with a sufficient approach to equality to disarm suspicion, and render common action possible.

The Leeds Yorkshire Post—

November 5th, 1889.

AUSTRALIAN Federation, in some form or another is, no doubt, inevitable; but it would be unwise to assume that it is so near as many people are inclined to think from Sir Henry Parkes' remarkable letter to the

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The Leeds Yorkshire Post—*continued.*

Premiers of the Southern Colonies. Intercolonial jealousy is one of the most potent factors in Australasian politics. It has found vent in a violent war of tariffs, in the construction of railways by one colony on a different gauge to that of its neighbour, simply and solely in order to prevent traffic finding its way across the border line which separates the two, and in a hundred other ways, which can only be appreciated by those who have resided on the spot. With this feeling in the ascendant, it is highly improbable that the colonies will be speedily brought to agree to a federal system of government which will necessarily involve the abandonment of many cherished local aspirations. The selection of a seat of government for one thing will be an obstacle of a very formidable kind. Melbourne, "the Queen city of the South," will not play second fiddle to Sydney, nor will Sydney to Melbourne, and even if both these cities are able to adjust their differences, Adelaide and Brisbane will not be left out in the cold. The same difficulty will be found in dealing with every other detail of the system, whether it relates to representative taxation or to matters to be relegated to the Council. Local jealousy, in fact, is so strong that the mere circumstance that the proposal has been mooted by the Premier of New South Wales is as likely as not to render the idea extremely unpopular in Victoria. Evidence of the working of this feeling was given some time ago, when Victoria ostentatiously dissociated itself from the movement, of which Sir Henry Parkes placed himself at the head, for securing the right of a colony to a voice in the election of its Governor, and it has been forthcoming over and over again in matters of less importance. Sir Henry Parkes is a great man in Sydney, but that Melbourne has no love for him or his views we shall probably soon discover.

Viewed from the Imperial standpoint, there is nothing to fear in a well-considered scheme of Australian Federation. On the contrary, we should be distinctly the gainers by the change, for instead of, as at present, having to deal with a number of small local governments, all worked on narrow party principles, we should have one strong united Executive capable of voicing the opinion of the whole of the island continent. To appreciate the advantage of this we have only to remember what happened a few years ago in regard to the question of Australian naval defence. The representatives of various colonies who met in London agreed to pay a certain contribution to the Imperial Exchequer for a squadron which was to be exclusively located in Australian waters.

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The Leeds Yorkshire Post—*continued.*

Queensland, for purely party reasons, repudiated her share in the transaction, and to this day declines to contribute a penny towards the support of the ships. Had we been dealing with a Federal Government such a *contretemps* would of course have been impossible, for an arrangement once entered into would have to be loyally carried out. Apart, however, from this consideration, there is much to be said in favour of federation. The Australian military forces, as fine a body—man for man—as is to be found in the world, would gain immensely in efficiency by being put under one head, and the Empire at large would benefit by the moral force which a united army would bring. Trade would be improved by the adoption—which would be inevitable in the long run—of a common tariff and by the removal of the present senseless local rivalries which seriously retard the development of the country.

The Liverpool Courier—

November 5th, 1889.

THE inhabitants of the Mother Country will await with interest the answers which may be given by the various Governments of Australia to the important proposal which has been made to them by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales. The recent investigations of General Edwards were made on the basis of military federation pure and simple. The Federal Council has had before it only a limited ideal of unity, the foundation of which is the naturally strong sentiment of self-preservation. Sir Henry Parkes points out that even if a great colonial army could be created on the lines recommended by General Edwards, there is no executive power vested in the Federal Council or lying anywhere behind it to control the mobilisation or direct the operations of such an army in time of need. Supposing, in other words, an army for the defence of the whole of Australia to exist, the first essential would be the power of concentrating its full strength under one command upon any given point. The Federal Council has no executive power whatever; the individual Governments have none; and though the Imperial Executive might, no doubt, have the power to direct the federal army, such interference would, without fail, give rise to friction and cause resentment. Sir Henry Parkes, therefore, proposes to begin at the beginning. He believes that the time is ripe for consolidating the

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The Liverpool Courier—*continued.*

Australias into one—otherwise it would be necessary, from his point of view, to abandon the federal army scheme altogether—and accordingly he asks the other colonies to join New South Wales in taking the first step—a convention. Each colony, he suggests, should select six members—four from the Assembly and two from the Council—equally representing both sides of political life. As Western Australia has only one House, probably four members would fairly represent its views, and if New Zealand were to join, the Federation Convention would thus consist of forty members, who should duly receive their commissions from the Governor-in-Council. The scheme of federation is also shadowed forth, as it suggests itself to one who has studied the matter profoundly for more than twenty years. Sir Henry thinks "it would necessarily follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council, and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Commons." Such are the proposals made, and it remains to be seen whether they will be favourably entertained.

It must be candidly admitted that the fact of their coming from the Premier of a colony that has from the outset boycotted the Federal Council, will tend to their prejudice. It may be quite true that the letter of Sir Henry Parkes is entirely consistent with the attitude of New South Wales throughout, and it goes without saying that his proposals should be considered purely on their merits. But it is useless to argue for an ideal state of things in the face of an actual position. "Why should we turn aside from the inevitable? In the nature of our onward progress it must come." There is much force in these words of Sir Henry Parkes; but the most desirable, and even inevitable, consummations have often been unduly delayed by prejudices, jealousies, and the strife of parties; and the manifestly keen conflict of those forces among the sister colonies at the Antipodes has not been lessened, or the way to a good understanding made more smooth, by the persistent refusal of New South Wales to recognise the Federal Council. For our own part, we are disposed to concede almost every point contended for by Sir Henry Parkes. Probably the provisions of the Federal Council Act do not under the phrase "general defences" confer the power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australia. Very likely the necessary machinery does not exist. In favour of the plea that federation

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The Liverpool Courier—*continued.*

should begin, not with a federal army, but with a Federal Government, the presumption is strong; and in any case the Mother Country has no reason to dread, but every ground for favouring, Australian Federation on Canadian lines. In our opinion it would be one more step, and a very material one, towards that larger federation which, though it has not yet been brought from the sphere of the ideal to that of the practical, is growingly contemplated by members of the Greater Britain in all parts of the world.

However much may be vague and problematical in regard to the question of the larger federation, it is obvious that it should begin with the greatest possible consolidation of neighbouring parts. In other words, the interlocking process ought to be initiated by the promotion of local unity, so that when the turn of the Imperial Federationists comes they may have to deal with a comparatively small number of bodies with well-defined relations and dimensions, instead of an infinitude of atoms each with a multitude of microscopic rival interests to conciliate. At the same time it should be remembered that half a loaf is better than no bread. Five colonies deplore that New South Wales will not join the Federal Council; Sir Henry Parkes, on behalf of the latter colony, laments that the other five will not begin with the great work in a businesslike way. Clearly there must be concession on the one side or the other, or no advance can be made. It is to be hoped the proposals of Sir Henry will be impartially considered; but we cannot forget that they do not come from a neutral party, but one who, on the contrary, has all along maintained a *non possumus* attitude. Should this fact be found to prevent such a reply as he could wish in every case, might not the New South Wales Premier with advantage descend somewhat from his present lofty altitude? A small beginning, and even a blundering one, would soon compel the adoption of as much of his programme as is essential for the common wellbeing of Australia, while standing still can only intensify existing jealousies.

The Manchester Courier—

November 5th, 1889.

THE circular letter despatched by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to the Premiers of the other Australian Colonies is sure to be read with a great deal of interest, not only in Australia, but in all

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The Manchester Courier—*continued.*

parts of Greater Britain. The question of colonial defence engaged the attention of the Colonial Congress which met in London a year or two ago, and one result was the despatch of a distinguished expert, General Edwards, to investigate and report upon the best means of enabling the colonies to provide against attack. Every colony in Australia has some organisation for the purpose of local defence. But, as is well known, there exists a good deal of rivalry, not to say jealousy, between the different colonies, and there has been no concerted action, and, indeed, no common basis of organisation. It does not require much acquaintance with military science to recognise how weak and unsatisfactory such a happy-go-lucky arrangement is in these days, when success in war depends upon the most accurate co-operation of all the forces engaged. General Edwards made a series of recommendations with a view to secure something like uniformity. The principal were the federation of the several Australian contingents, and the appointment of a single commanding officer for the whole body; the adoption of a uniform system of organisation and armament; the establishment of a common military college for all the colonies; and the introduction for strategical purposes of a uniform railway gauge. It is these recommendations which have drawn forth from Sir Henry Parkes the letter to which we refer. In 1885 a Federal Council Act was passed, which was designed to provide machinery for common action on the part of the Australian Colonies. It was not altogether a success, because New South Wales, for some reason or other, declined to have anything to do with the Federal Council. It is said that this refusal on the part of New South Wales was due to the jealousy with which the inhabitants of that Colony regard Victoria. That may or may not be the case, but it is quite certain that there is very considerable rivalry between the two Colonies, New South Wales having adopted the principle of free trade, while Victoria is rigidly protectionist. A trace of this jealousy is certainly to be detected in Sir Henry Parkes' letter to Mr. Duncan Gillies, the Victorian Premier, who invited the Premiers of the other colonies to express their opinions on the recommendations of General Edwards.

Mr. Gillies had declared himself in favour of utilising the machinery provided by the Federal Council's Act for carrying these recommendations into effect. Sir Henry Parkes broadly asserts, in reply, that "the Council does not possess the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army." Of the value of his constitutional

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The Manchester Courier—*continued.*

objections we are not in a position to speak, though at first sight they seem rather trifling. But there appears to be more force in his statement that, whatever technical powers may be conferred on the Federal Council by act of Parliament, there exists "an impassable barrier in the fact that there does not exist in it or behind it any form of executive power." He goes on to illustrate his contention: "Supposing," he says, "for example, that the Federal Council's recommendations or enactments for the movements of Australian troops could be accepted, there could not be found anywhere a corresponding executive authority to give effect to them." He meets the rejoinder that the Imperial Parliament could pass an Act to constitute a federal army under one command, by bluntly stating that "the colonies would never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering in the direction of its (the federal army's) movements." He reserves, however, his *coup de grace* for the conclusion of his letter. He asserts that "there is no person and no party here that could persuade (the New South Wales) Parliament to sanction the representation of this colony in the present Federal Council." Of course, if Sir Henry Parkes is right, there is an end of the scheme so far as the machinery of the Federal Council is concerned; for if New South Wales stood aloof, there could be none of that uniformity without which the scheme would be useless. Sir Henry Parkes, however, does not meet the appeal with a simple *non possumus*. On the contrary, he comes forward with a big scheme of federalisation. He says that he believes the time has arrived for consolidating the Australias into one, and he proposes that a national convention should meet for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. Sir Henry Parkes suggests that each colony should send six representatives impartially selected from the Ministerial and Opposition sides of the respective Parliaments. If New Zealand would join in the conference there would be altogether forty representatives assembled. Sir Henry Parkes further suggests that the scheme of Federal Government should follow closely upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the creation of an Australian Privy Council and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Commons. We must wait some time before we can form any opinion of the success of Sir Henry Parkes' appeal. It is as likely as not that the same reasons which deterred New South Wales from taking part in the Federal Council may influence the Ministers of Victoria in approaching this proposal. Victoria may decline to follow the lead of New South Wales.

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The Manchester Courier—*continued.*

Meanwhile there is no reason why Englishmen should not examine the issues raised by this proposal. That sooner or later the different colonies of Australia must amalgamate in some form or other is a proposition which has never been questioned. It is entirely a matter for the colonies themselves to decide. As to the form such an amalgamation should take, there are likely to be different opinions both here and on the other side of the world. Federation is not an ideal form of government, and wherever it has been adopted it has owed its origin to the necessity of reconciling antagonistic interests. This is obviously true of the United States, of Switzerland, and in a miner degree of Canada. So far as Australia is concerned, the conflicting interests are imaginary and sentimental rather than real and substantial. It would seem to outsiders that the best thing the Australians could do would be to adopt a common Constitution and unite under a single Government. But there are, of course, the jealousies of the different centres of Government to be considered, and great influence would be brought to bear by the classes directly interested to prevent the abolition of the provincial legislatures. But this, as we have said, is for the Australians themselves to decide. For Englishmen the interesting question is whether the amalgamation of the Australias would be a step in the direction of separation or not. There is in Australia a not uninfluential minority which does not disguise its belief in the cry of "Australia for the Australians," and which looks forward to the establishment of an independent nationality in the Antipodes which shall rival in strength and prosperity the United States of America. But so far, at any rate, the minority is insignificant compared with the majority which refuses to snap the golden link. There is no Englishman who does not desire to see our Colonies brought into closer and ever closer union with the Mother Country; but it is also true that if Australia deliberately expressed her wish to set up for herself, no stronger weapon than vehement persuasion would be used to prevent the realisation of her ambition. It is true that the connection with the British Empire exposes the colonies to certain risks, in the event of a war; but, on the other hand, the might and prestige of the Empire are potent safeguards for the tranquillity and peace of the colonies. Anything which tends to promote the prosperity and welfare of our brethren beyond the seas will be welcomed by Englishmen without any *arrière pensée*. If the union or federation of the Australias promises to increase their prosperity we shall not ask whether it be the first step which leads to separation or

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The Manchester Courier—*continued.*

not. If our colonists parted company with us to-morrow, there is not one which could say that the Mother Country had selfishly sacrificed their interests to her own.

The Newcastle Journal—

November 5th, 1889.

It was clearly foreseen during the earlier stages of the movement towards federation among the colonies of Australia that any really efficient scheme of common defence would ultimately have to be placed under a central and supreme authority. When Imperial and Colonial Federation, and a great plan of Imperial and Colonial defence, became facts, the absolute necessity of a closer bond, a more compact organisation, and greater unity of operations on an emergency of war, could no longer be a subject of uncertainty. In various ways the topic has been canvassed for two or three years; but it is only within a recent period that the energetic action of Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, has brought it fairly within the region of practical politics. The facts of the case are few and simple. A fine volunteer force now exists in the colonies. There are not only well drilled and well equipped land forces in Australia, but a very superior naval reserve of coast volunteers protects all the chief commercial ports, and they are organised in connection with vessels of war furnished by the Imperial Government. In some manœuvres, not long ago, combining the chief features of our volunteer operations at Easter, or in the autumn, with our naval operations at Milford Haven, the Australian volunteers were put through all the movements of repelling an attack in force by a hostile fleet bent on landing an army. On that occasion the ability of the various corps was shown to great advantage, all the operations being conducted with efficiency and success. At the same time, the additions to the Russian fleet in the Pacific led to a corresponding increase of our own squadron on that station, and the despatch of a superior class of vessels to the naval stations in Australia. It was felt also that arrangements for the prompt mobilisation of all the Australian defences by land and sea was essential to complete the system of mutual protection, and to make that effective, some fresh arrangement was also required by which the various colonies might be enabled to act in war, as one strong united Power under a permanent and responsible executive Directorate and a Secretary for War.

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The Newcastle Journal—*continued.*

For such an arrangement, as Sir Henry Parkes has pointed out in his letter to the Victorian Premier, the existing provisions of the Federal Council Act are entirely inadequate. No authority is given by the Act to an executive head or any kind of executive power, such as is absolutely indispensable in carrying out any combined plan of colonial defence. Even if the Federal Council were agreed upon a certain line of action, they are without the means necessary to carry it into execution. Federation may be adopted, it is obvious, by a number of contiguous States for very simple purposes; and such as do not involve very close union, or any vital identification of local and general policy. It may be as loose as that of the States of ancient Greece, with no provision for united action, except on great emergencies, when arrangements were made of a temporary character, in no way binding them to permanent union. The bond, as in Switzerland, may be really administrative and executive, or the exigencies of general defence may develop a solid, homogeneous combination, such as was produced in the United States, and cemented almost to the consistency of a great empire by the terrible ordeal of the war between the North and the South. In many respects the Australian Colonies find themselves in the position of the North American Colonies before they became independent of the mother country; and without some better provision than they now possess for their defence they might, in the event of war, even with assistance similar to that given by our Government to the North American colonists against the French armies, be just as unfortunate as those who fought under Generals Monro and Webb in 1757.

The Dominion of Canada is an example of federation which perhaps our Australian Colonies have no desire to follow any more, however, than that of the United States. But if the union of the colonies for mutual defence, as well for the defence of the Empire, is to be real and effective, some means must be found of making Colonial Federation at least as substantial for military and naval purposes as that of the two great divisions of North America, one still in connection with Great Britain, and the other separated from it more than a century ago. At present there are military and naval forces belonging to the separate colonies, but there is no colonial army, no colonial navy; nor is there any arrangement by which all, or some of these separate forces could be directed to a certain threatened point, in obedience to a sudden decision arrived at by the whole or a majority of the colonies. Some kind of military and

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The Newcastle Journal—*continued.*

naval government is essential to the inception and execution of any military or naval enterprise; and it does not exist, so far as regards the Australian Colonies. If it must be set up, it is not easy to see how the present loose relation of the colonies can be continued; or how the erection of a central authority for war purposes will be practicable without the addition in the first instance of some system of Federal Government. The obstacles to such a fusion in Australia are neither few nor small; but in pointing out that, without a closer bond, the costly works and forces raised during the last four or five years will be useless either to the Empire or the colonies on an emergency, Sir Henry Parkes only states the conviction of many who have taken all along the most prominent part in pushing forward the project of Imperial and colonial defence. A National Convention is the proper body to discuss such a question; and the fact that it will probably be held, at the suggestion of Sir Henry Parkes, is a proof that in those matters it is wise for the Imperial Government to leave the colonies to their own devices until they elaborate a plan for the consideration of our Queen and Parliament.

The Plymouth Western Morning News—

November 5th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, as Premier of New South Wales, has sent a letter to the Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, in favour of the federation of Australia into one great dominion, upon the model of Canada. Now that the Germans are becoming her near neighbours, and that difficulties are arising with New Guinea which may produce a series of distressing wars, the Australians want an army and a navy. Their six million inhabitants have no effective Constitution in common, the jealousies aroused by separate autonomies having hitherto stood in the way of organic union, and Sir Henry Parkes is anxious to create an institution which would bring under one command the scattered and unconnected local forces. So strong is the dislike of Imperial interference that Sir Henry Parkes declares "the colonies would never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering" in the movements of what would still be the Queen's army. The colonies, in other words, must have separate armies, and Sir Henry is anxious for federation. "In the

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The Plymouth Western Morning News—*continued.*

nature of our onward progress it must come. A year or two later, possibly, but in any case soon." He proposes, therefore, a National Convention, consisting of six members from each colony, the federation to embrace New Zealand. In this Federal Assembly measures would be taken for creating a stable Federal Government, with a Senate and a House of Commons, with a right to elect its own Governor-General, and to create a Privy Council. The only tie with the mother country would then be one of sentiment, which would last as long as loyalty to the Crown inspires the hearts of the Australian people. We have no doubt that Australian Federation will arrive. It is inevitable. But unless it is followed by the federation of the Empire it will involve colonial independence, and the exercise by the Australians of the right which they undoubtedly possess, if they chose to exercise it, to sever the tie which now binds together the vast majority of the English race.

Shields Daily News—

November 5th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed an important letter to the Premier of the sister Colony of Victoria, on the subject of the federation of Australia. It is, of course, due entirely to the partial and limited manner in which the great continent of Australia was first colonized that there is the present disseverance of government amongst its various parts. If the colonization of Australia had been set about deliberately, and organized as the Socialists appear to think it possible to organize human society, no doubt the population as it poured in would have been evenly distributed at suitable points, and a form of government would have been arranged for both local and general requirements. But in practical life the movements of mankind are not so regulated. The Government of England used New South Wales at one time as a sort of dust-heap for Great Britain; incorrigible or specially wicked criminals were deported there, to be out of the way of law-abiding citizens at home. Then came the discovery of gold there, and a vast influx of people to the country, especially to a part so far distant from New South Wales that it was for all practical purposes a new colony, and, as Victoria, made for itself a separate importance and existence.

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Shields Daily News—*continued.*

With modern means of communication, it would be far more easy to have a central government now than it was in the "gold fever" days of five-and-thirty years ago, but as things have happened, the two regions have formed entirely separate colonies. Western Australia, a younger sister, is now of considerable population and importance; so is South Australia. Nor is the expansion of Australia by any means finished. Its population will increase, for the vast tracts of country, as yet entirely wild or very sparingly occupied, will support very many more inhabitants than the natural growth of its citizens and the immigration of capital and labour together will give for some time to come. Australia is an expanding nation, with a future before it that no eye can prophetically discern. It is impossible to foresee what will be the future relations of this young and vigorous offspring to the mother country. What it is at present can clearly not be a permanent arrangement. Our child will cling to us so long as it cannot entirely support itself. So soon as it can stand alone it will assert its independence. What relationship there will be after that depends on sentiment and family feeling, and on the knowledge that we must possess on both sides that by keeping the family together we all gain in consideration and authority and safety in the eyes of the rest of the world. To drop metaphor, it is idle to suppose that England can permanently govern Australia imperially. What does it mean now? It means simply that whenever there is a conflict of opinion about what is best to do, the opinion of the clerks of the Colonial Office is to over-ride the opinion of the Australians themselves. Australia has no representation in the Imperial Parliament, her views and her claims cannot even be formally laid before the British nation's representatives. It is purely a question for the Colonial Secretary for the time being, whether he will or will not, in any given matter, accede to the wishes of the colonists. If this bond be drawn too tightly, it will snap. The immediate question which has elicited Sir H. Parkes' letter is a proposal for the foundation of a United Australian army. It appears strange, perhaps, that a colony free from the burden of a war tax should wish to impose one on itself. But as matters go, this is a first step towards independence. The German colonization in neighbouring islands has made the Australians see that they cannot rely on being outside the European complications of the future. Circumstances might very conceivably arise in which an army to defend the shores of Australia against the attacks of an enemy of England might become

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Shields Daily News—*continued.*

necessary. But Sir H. Parkes maintains, and probably with perfect accuracy, that if such a force were embodied now, it would be under the control and at the disposal of the Imperial Government. The "Federal Council," created by Act of the Imperial Parliament five years ago, has no authority to direct general defensive operations all over Australia. Hence, if an army is to be formed for the defence of the Colonies, it is first necessary that they should combine one with another to procure a Federal Government, enabling all the various Colonies of the great Continent of Australia and the neighbouring islands, and including New Zealand, to form a Parliament to direct their common affairs. Sir H. Parkes urges the other Premiers to induce their Parliaments to join in a formal conference with this end in view. Should this most important step be taken, it will be either a further unfastening, or a first step towards drawing more firmly, the bands which unite the mother country with her great Australasian family. Which way the event will tend will largely depend upon the sense and wisdom with which it is treated by the Colonial Office at home.

The British Australasian—

November 6th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, the veteran Premier of the mother colony, has now elaborated his views of the steps to be taken towards bringing about the federation of Australia, or perhaps Australasia. We say "perhaps," because he considers New Zealand a doubtful quantity. Sir Henry Parkes maintains, as he always has done, that the existing machinery for the Federal Council of Australia is unworkable when applied to the measure of federal unity he and other statesmen of New South Wales desire; and he adds that it is unsuitable even for that federation for purposes of defence such as General Edwards has advocated in his report, which, by the way bids fair to become a memorable historical document. In this contention there is no doubt that Sir Henry Parkes is strictly right. The power of retirement from the Council, and the express stipulation that the Council cannot commit any colony to a money expenditure undoubtedly render the present Act a very imperfect and half-hearted affair. This, however, was quite admitted by Lord

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The British Australasian—*continued.*

Derby when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies. His words, on moving the second reading of the Enabling Bill, on the 23rd April, 1885, are well worthy of repetition, and we, therefore, make the following lengthy extract from them :—

"Before I state what the Bill is, I may as well explain what it is not. It is not a Bill which deals in any way with that question of Imperial Federation of which we hear so much. It does not touch, except indirectly, the relations existing between the colonies and the mother country. It is not even a measure for Intercolonial Federation in any complete and organized shape. It simply provides, as the title states, for the creation of a Federal Council, charged with certain duties, which are described and defined in the clauses. Further, it is not a compulsory, but an enabling Bill. No colony is bound by it to join in the arrangement which it sanctions unless that colony spontaneously decides so to do. The initiative must be taken by the colony itself; all that the Imperial Legislature undertakes is to give its sanction to a scheme which would be *ultra vires* for the Colonial Legislatures to deal with on their own unassisted authority. Under this bill five colonies—Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania—will be enabled, and are now prepared, to become federated for certain purposes. Two colonies, New South Wales and New Zealand, have hitherto declined to join. Of these two colonies so standing aloof, one, New Zealand, is so far distant, and so little connected with the affairs of the Australian Continent, that its continued separation, if it should remain in the same mind as at present, would not, as I conceive, affect the working of the scheme. It will be entirely a question for New Zealanders themselves; their junction or their abstention will not interfere with the other States concerned. In the case of New South Wales, I cannot deny that a good deal turns on whether that colony comes into the federation or not. It is the oldest of the Australian Colonies; it holds a central position; it is the rival of Victoria in importance, having a rather smaller population, but a larger amount of trade, of revenue, and of territory. I do not deny that the continued standing out of New South Wales would be a serious, possibly a fatal, blow to the organization which we are creating. But I entertain a sanguine hope that the objections of the New South Wales Legislature will not be permanent. I believe the feeling there to be one rather of doubt than of hostility, and it is mainly in order to remove as far as possible any obstacle to the accession of New South Wales that I have inserted in the Bill the proviso in clause 31, by which any colony which may on trial be dissatisfied with the arrangement is enabled to secede. That proviso has been the subject of much discussion, and it would not have been inserted if complete agreement among the colonies had been arrived at, or if this were to be considered as the final form which Intercolonial Federation is likely to assume. But the whole scheme is tentative; it is experimental, and in a certain sense it is provisional; and, under these circumstances, it seems expedient to leave large facilities for future change. We had proposed a clause dealing with the question of expenditure involved in the action of the

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The British Australasian—*continued.*

Council; but on reference to the Colonial Governments that was objected to, and it has been dropped out in deference to their objections. The result will be that no decision involving expenditure can have effect given to it without the consent of the Legislature of each colony, which is a point on which they have laid great stress; and it, in fact, reduces the power of the Council in all cases where expenditure is involved to that of an advising or recommending body. I do not believe that any one here is likely to be opposed to the principle of federation in the abstract, and I need not therefore defend the Bill against attacks from that side. The criticism which I anticipate is rather on the score that this Bill gives federation only in a very rudimentary and imperfect form. That I admit; and I agree that it would be much more satisfactory to all of us if we could deal with the question in a more effectual and conclusive manner. A federated Australia, forming, as Canada does, a single State, united for all except purely local purposes, would be a new power in the world. But the mere difference in their fiscal policy is sufficient at present to prevent it, and we must go at their pace, not ours."

Thus Lord Derby clearly looked upon the Federal Council as a stepping stone, and when Sir Henry Parkes urges that it is not a complete measure, he is perfectly in the right. Lord Derby looked forward to a more complete Parliamentary union, and if the time has now come when that larger and more complete measure can be carried into effect, there will certainly be no delay here in obtaining the requisite Imperial sanction.

Now, what steps does Sir Henry Parkes propose towards bringing about a more complete union of the Australian Colonies? He suggests, in the first place, the holding of a National Convention to which each colony shall appoint four members from the Assembly, and two members from the Council, Western Australia, having only one Chamber, to send four members instead of six. Including Tasmania, this Convention would consist of thirty-four delegates, and if New Zealand joined it the total would be increased to forty. He further is of opinion that all parties should be represented, and that their labours should be directed towards the framing of a Constitution for an Australian or Australasian Parliament, to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons, as well as for the appointment of a Governor-General and an Australian Privy Council. Such a Legislature should be national in its character, and he urged his arguments in the powerful language of which he is known to be a master. It is evident that Sir Henry Parkes has taken up the question of federation warmly, and when he does so, he can never be accused of advocating half measures.

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The British Australasian—*continued.*

How will his despatch be received by the other colonies? There may not unnaturally be some disinclination shown, as Sir Henry Parkes has at all times been off-hand with them when they have approached him on the subject of the Federal Council, to accept dictation from him at the present time. But really it would be most regrettable that any feeling of chagrin should be allowed to mar a proposition which, for the first time, appears likely to bring New South Wales within the charmed circle. Should the Convention be accepted by the other Colonies, as we hope and think it will be, there is no doubt that questions of the greatest moment will be brought before it. It appears to us impossible that the question of a national fiscal policy should be ignored, and, as we pointed out last week, the only way it seems possible for such extreme protectionists as Victorians, and extreme free-traders as the rulers of New South Wales, to be brought together is to agree to average the differences in their respective tariffs. If it should be found that the colonies are even now prepared for a complete union after the style of the Canadian Dominion, it is essential that they should evince a willingness to compromise points of difference such as they have not hitherto displayed.

Civil Service Gazette—

November, 1889.

THE very important problem of the organization of the military forces of the several Australian Colonies under one uniform system, and the constitution for the purposes of defence of an Australian army, and the still more important one of the federation of the Australian Colonies for the purposes of general government and administration, have made a considerable approach towards solution. Some four years ago, when the idea of an Australian Federation was seriously entertained, adhesion to it was voluntary, and hitherto New South Wales and New Zealand have held aloof from it. Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, has been the principal opponent of the project of federation; but he has now come round, and has been a strenuous advocate of it. Speaking at Tenterfield last week, Sir Henry Parkes is reported to have declared that the time had come for a distinct Executive and Parliament for Australia to deal with national questions, and suggested that a Convention of

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Civil Service Gazette—*continued.*

representatives of all colonies should be assembled to devise the construction of a Federal Government and Parliament. As he has been the chief opponent to the policy of Australasian union or federation, it is highly possible that New Zealand will soon adopt the policy which he has now distinctly and energetically recommended. By what means the desired objects may be attained—whether by the action of the existing Federal Council, or by that suggested by the Prime Minister of New South Wales, it seems certain that a great step has been taken towards the foundation of that Australasian Federation or union which is so much desired by the truest friends of Colonial and Imperial interests.

Bradford Telegraph—

November 6th, 1889.

THE despatch addressed by Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, to his fellow-Premiers in the Australasian Colonies, is one of the most important items of news to English people which has been published for many a long day. Sooner or later the federal idea was bound to make headway in our Antipodean Colonies, but Sir Henry Parkes' action has at once bridged over the chasm which separated the probable from the merely possible, and brought the question of federation within the region of practical politics. Hitherto New South Wales has held aloof from all proposals with this end in view. Of all the colonies she alone refused to join in the first feeble efforts towards a united Australia which were embodied in the Act passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1885 for the formation of a Federal Council. What the reasons were for the attitude adopted it is difficult for us at home with the imperfect sources of information we possess to judge. Intercolonial jealousy was freely ascribed as the cause on one hand, whilst the small section in this country who love to play the role of carping critic on any project which has for its end the knitting together of the scattered parts of Greater Britain in closer ties, were not slow to indulge in unpatriotic exultation over the position as a proof that New South Wales wanted to cut adrift rather than draw nearer to the mother country. The first-mentioned cause was probably near the truth, for the rivalry between New South Wales and the sister colony of Victoria is one of long standing, and the latter played a

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Bradford Telegraph—*continued.*

prominent part in the Federal Council scheme. Whatever was the reason, however, Sir Henry Parkes' despatch shows that it arose from no lack of love for the mother country, which to the colonists of New South Wales as well as those in other colonies of the Southern hemisphere is still "home," and associated with all the proud and tender recollections which cluster round the word. Sir Henry not only confesses that he has been a federalist for the last twenty years so far as Australia is concerned, but also sees the time when there shall be an Imperial Federation embracing within its wide-reaching grasp all parts of the earth over which the Union Jack now floats and the English language is spoken. The only difference between Sir Henry Parkes' federation scheme and that which has been generally promulgated here, is that he considers a federation of the difierent groups of colonies should precede the federation of the colonies with the mother country; that instead of a federation of individual colonies with the parent State it should be a federation of free nations, of which the parent State would indeed be the head but in which the other component parts would enter into the alliance "on something like a broad ground of equality." The Australasian Premier takes as wide a field of vision as the most ardent Imperial Federationist could desire. In his mind's eye he sees not Australia alone as one united kingdom, too strong to be attacked, and unquestioned in her supremacy in the southern ocean; but his mental vision also perceives a time when the Anglo-African colonies will also be federated into one great people, as powerful and supreme in Africa as the former will be in the huge islands and Asiatic kingdoms which lie to her north. He also foresees a time when the North American colonies will be a great and united people, and it is his hope, as it is the hope of all those who have desired and worked for Imperial Federation, that these will unite firmly and indissolubly with the mother country into a "grand and peaceful congerie of free communities." In such a union he says he thinks there is "a promise of unprecedented usefulness for the British people," and "so say all of us" would be the echo from this side of the globe, could it find audible expression. The tone of the despatch must be particularly galling to the persistent opponents of the federation idea, coming as it does from the quarter where they had hoped their own un-English and unpatriotic ideas principally flourished. It marks the utter failure of all the scorn and contumely poured upon the federal idea since it was first mooted by the late Mr. Forster and a few other patriotic, far-sighted men, who had penetration to look into

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Bradford Telegraph—*continued.*

and plan a little for the future. Federation is a question irrespective of party, and draws its leaders from all parties. Its purpose is for defence, not defiance, and if achieved, its results could not but be beneficial, both to the colonies and the United Kingdom. There have been differences of opinion as to whether it had better be achieved directly as between the parent State and the individual colonies, or whether, as Sir Henry Parkes advocates, federation of the different groups of colonies should precede the greater federation. We believe that the latter course is the wisest. The movement for Imperial Federation ought not to be burdened by the differences of adjoining colonies. These must first adjust their local differences before there can be any hope of working amicably in the councils of the empire, or even taking an efficient share in mutual defence. The preliminary difficulties are serious, especially as regards the question of customs duties where intercolonial opinion is strongly divided, but the example of Canada shows that they are not insurmountable. Colonial federation must come before Australia can commence to achieve her evident destiny. Without it, the different colonies would resolve into so many independent and hostile republics, and in the Southern seas we would sooner or later have a repetition of the mutual bloodshed and devastation which has marked the career of the Spanish republics in South America. For this reason we wish Sir Henry Parkes' proposals the fullest success, and trust that it may not be many years before Australia is united into one Dominion under a Government which would of necessity be something after the type of that of Canada. There would be one important difference, however. Australia stands alone. There is no possible rival or compeer in her quarter of the world. Population only is needed to ensure a future for the English race there which should make every Briton's face who thinks of it flush with pride.

Dumfries Standard—

November 6th, 1889.

THE despatch which Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed to the Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, is a remarkable sign of the times. It is an expression of the promptings of that great law of political necessity which compels kindred peoples to

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Dumfries Standard—*continued.*

co-operate for common ends in a federal union. The United States, the Canadian Dominion, the German Empire, are more or less perfect examples of this system. But we do not need to go so far afield to find the federal principle. It lies at the very basis of the union of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Neither the Union of the Crowns, nor later the Union of the Parliaments, destroyed the individual identity of the three nations. We secured a single sovereignty, and a central source of legislation and administration in the field of common interests. Had this been all, all might now have been well with the Union. But the mistake was unfortunately made of committing the management of purely national affairs to the federal, or, as we call it, the Imperial authority. It is this mistake that Home-rulers seek to rectify. When they shall have achieved their purpose, it will not be the introduction of the federal principle. It will only be the restriction of that principle to its proper sphere. By providing England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales each with a legislature and executive of its own for its own affairs, we do not lessen the dignity of the federal authority or impair the Union. We increase the one and strengthen the other, by the removal of petty details, which national councils alone can properly attend to, and which are a constant distraction and annoyance in the hands of the central authority.

What Sir Henry Parkes desires to bring about is the federal union of the Australian Colonies for the defence and furtherance of mutual interests. It seems that General Edwards had made a recommendation for the federal action of Australian troops. But Sir Henry fails to discover that the Federal Council Act confers upon the Council—from which New South Wales has kept aloof—power to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army. But even if the Council's enactments for the movement of troops could be accepted, there could not be found anywhere, he says, a corresponding authority to give effect to them. The executive Governments of the several colonies "could not act in combination for any such purpose, nor could they so act independently of each other," and the colonies "could never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering in the direction" of the movement of colonial troops. Here, then, on the question of colonial defence the Australian statesmen are brought face to face with what Sir Henry calls the "imperative necessity for Federal Government." And why, he asks, "should we turn aside from what is inevitable to the nature of our

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Dumfries Standard—*continued.*

onward progress? It must come, a year or two later possibly, but in any case soon." Therefore, in the name of New South Wales, he invites the other Colonies of the Pacific to appoint representatives to a convention "for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government." He suggests, "in order to avoid any sense of inequality in the debate, or any party complexion," that the number from each colony should be the same. Six he thinks a convenient unit—in each case four from the Assembly (two from each side) and two from the Council (one from each side). In the case of Western Australia, where there is only one Chamber, four members might suffice. Altogether the Convention would consist of forty representatives, and from such an assembly he is hopeful of a scheme proceeding on the lines of the Canadian Dominion that would command universal acceptance.

Could not our own statesmen take a leaf from Sir Henry's book and refer the solution of the Irish question to the patriotic counsels of a convention consisting of equal numbers of English, Irish, and Scotch members of Parliament drawn from both sides of the House of Commons? Mr. Gladstone is now, and always has been, prepared to assist the Tories to effect a settlement in a way that would meet the "legitimate aspirations" of the Irish people without imperilling the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. It is requisite, as a writer in this month's *Westminster Review* urges with some vehemence, to have our domestic difficulty adjusted quickly, in order to clear the boards for the larger question of Imperial Federation.

The Cornish Telegraph—

November 7th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed a letter to Mr. Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, which will most likely be the preface to a new and important era in the history of our Australian Colonies. The letter was written in reply to a telegram in which Mr. Gillies suggested that the Federal Council created by the Act of 1885 might be utilized to "constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army," the formation of which had been advised by General Edwards, who has recently examined and reported upon the means of defence

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The Cornish Telegraph—*continued.*

possessed by the colonies. Sir Henry does not agree with Mr. Gillies, and after a careful study of his letter, it is impossible to refrain from admitting the conclusiveness of his reasoning. He points out that the Federal Council has no means of putting its decisions into force, that it is simply a deliberative body, with no executive power behind it. It is, in short, a boiler without an engine. Its creation was really an experiment, and it has no element of permanency. In fact, it merely represents one short step towards the complete union, which all thinking Australians are beginning to look upon, in Sir Henry Parkes' own words, as "inevitable." The idea is not new. It has been in men's minds ever since the gold discoveries made patent to all that Australia would in the course of another century be a rich and populous country, and the undisputed ruler of the South Pacific. Until quite recent times, however, the question has not been a pressing one. The existing system is obviously well adapted to meet all the requirements of a community in its first youth, and colonists have been too busy with developing the great national resources of their adopted country to trouble their heads very much about any premature experiments in constitution-making. The increase in population and wealth, and the development of an active public life of indigenous growth, have aroused in Australians that self-consciousness which is one of the first symptoms of emergence from the chrysalis stage of nationhood. The young giant feels that he is no longer a child; it is time for him to assume the *toga virilis*, to adopt a form of government which will consolidate his vast dominions, enlarge his citizens' conception of their rights and responsibilities, and make his strength more readily and more effectively available either for attack or defence. Sir Henry Parkes thinks that the time for taking this momentous step has come, and no man is in a better position to judge than he. It is true that there is no such urgent necessity as there was in the case of Canada, but Australia's good luck in escaping the dangers and complications which have beset some of her sister colonies should not render her careless of the future. It should rather incite her to take measures to strengthen herself and ensure her safety similar to those which Canada has taken, and which, under the more favourable circumstances which Australia enjoys, may be expected to produce yet more satisfactory results.

The Premier of New South Wales suggests as a preliminary step that a National Convention should be appointed for the purpose of devising and

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The Cornish Telegraph—*continued.*

reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. It is proposed that the number of delegates from each colony should be the same and should be equally chosen from both sides of political life, and that the representatives should be elected by the Parliaments of the several colonies and receive commissions from the Governors. The task which the delegates would have set them would be the drawing up of a scheme of Federal Government, which, it is to be supposed, would be submitted to the electors for approval just as the judgment of the citizens is invited on the new constitution of an American State. The consent of the Imperial Parliament would also have to be obtained, but this would come as a matter of course. England would be only too glad to see her powerful offspring adopting such measures to aid her development and provide for her defence as experience certifies to be the best. The time of irritating interference, dictated by the smallest and most shortsighted jealousy, has happily gone by. No reasonable being will imagine that the associated delegates will have altogether plain sailing in this great business of constructing a federal constitution for Australia. There is no very imminent danger threatening the island continent; no combination of circumstances in which the most obstinate is forced to see plainly written the warning "federate or perish." Such perils as exist ar visible only to those political seers who are blessed with that keen insight into the ultimate issues of present developments which is the rarest and most valuable gift that a statesman can have. Men of this kind are forced now-a-days to lead by affecting to follow. They are obliged to often subordinate their own opinions to others which they know to be of doubtful soundness. In order to carry one vital point they have to give way on several which are important though not all-important. The mutual jealousies of the colonies, uncurbed by any strong common sentiment of fear, will doubtless throw many obstacles in the way. Such questions as that of the centre of Government for the new federation, the adoption or non-adoption of Free-trade between its various members, the amount of power to be respectively possessed by the Federal Congress and the subordinate Parliaments, will afford much ground for discussion, and the debates upon them will not improbably reveal wide divergencies of opinion. But if each member of the Convention enters it with the determination to make everything secondary to the preparation of a workable scheme of federation, there can be small chance of this great experiment ending in a fiasco.

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The Cornish Telegraph—*continued.*

Will the adoption of such a scheme bring the Australian Colonies nearer to the mother country, and consequently bring all Anglo-Saxondom nearer to the realization of that bright dream of a great and inviolable brotherhood, or will it hasten what some regard as an unavoidable separation? Will its final fruit, in short, be a federated Empire, or a new Federal Republic? There are many able men in both hemispheres who look upon Imperial Federation as the pet craze of a few unpractical political visionaries, as a proposition altogether unworthy the consideration of working statesmen, and only useful as a means of keeping a set of meddlesome and crackbrained faddists out of mischief. The initiators of every great new departure, social, political, or religious, have been ridiculed and denounced by the people who mistake an entire lack of originality and a slavish tendency to run in grooves made by somebody else for common sense. The truth is, that some of the leading supporters of Imperial Federation are practical and hard headed men in the best sense of those terms. Lord Rosebery, the Chairman of the London County Council, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the leading spirit in the formation of the great new South African Company, are scarcely visionaries. Yet both are strong supporters of and believers in Imperial Federation. After all, democracies prefer to be led by men who are not altogether devoid of imagination and sentiment, who recognize that nations cannot be governed as if they were merely huge and elaborate machines. There is some ground for hoping that federation will not be looked upon by Australians as their final process of national evolution, that they will regard it only as a phase in their development, as a prelude to a yet grander fruition. If the men of the new federation have that capacity for almost unlimited widening of the mental horizon for which their race has always been noted, and which has evolved the elaborate English Constitution out of the rudest and crudest elements, there is small fear that they will stop short with the accomplishment of Sir Henry Parkes' project. Their success in that undertaking will give them greater confidence in their own powers, besides proving the value of combination. They will attack the infinitely more difficult problem of Imperial Federation, or British Federation, as it might more appropriately be called, with an increased belief in their ability to overcome obstacles, with a strengthened faith in the desirableness of the end in view. Long and toilsome will the labour be, but if the task is hard and painful, the achievement will transcend in glory all

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The Cornish Telegraph—*continued.*

man's previous exploits. The firm fixing on an unshakable foundation of the colossal structure of a world-girdling Anglo-Saxon dominion would be the mightiest forward movement ever made by mankind, the sure pledge of the supremacy of the noblest instincts of our nature in the future working out of the world's destiny.

Bullionist—

November, 1889.

WHATEVER pertains to the welfare and development of the British Colonies cannot fail to be of paramount interest to the Home country. In this light we must consider the action of Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, who has recently despatched a circular to the Premiers of the other Australian Colonies, writing them to send representatives to a National Convention to be called together for the purpose of devising a new scheme of Australian Federation. Sir Henry Parkes is of opinion that the existing system has outgrown its usefulness, and it now fails to meet the requirements of the colonies. This, as a broad and general principle, we believe is quite true, for the developments of the Australian Colonies have been unparalleled in the previous history of nations. The Premier of New South Wales cannot concur in the view that the Federal Council, as constituted by the Act of 1885, possesses the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control an united Australian army. Besides, there is no executive power behind the Federal Council to give effect to any mandates which it might feel justified in issuing. What Sir Henry Parkes wishes to see is a scheme of Federal Government fashioned after the Canadian model with Governor-General, Privy Council, and two Houses of Parliament, subject only to the supremacy of the Crown. Nothing less than this would be regarded as an adequate means of securing a proper system of defence as well as other benefits for the Australian Colonies. A federation of the Australian Colonies would be a great step towards a general federation between the Mother Country and all her colonies, but there is a serious obstacle in the way in the fixed antagonism that exists among the colonies themselves. For instance, in their fiscal policy, New South Wales and Victoria are in direct opposition to each other, and until they can approach to something like a uniformity in this respect, there is

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Bullionist—*continued.*

little hope that they can agree on a principle of federation. We wish Sir Henry Parkes success in his well-intentioned projects, but we fear the time has not yet arrived for this great step in Colonial progress.

Statist—

November, 1889.

THE despatch from the Prime Minister of New South Wales to the Prime Minister of Victoria raises in a very effective and practical way the question of Australasian Federation. The Australian Colonies are all desirous of making adequate military preparation for their defence in case of war. But General Edwards reports that for that purpose it is necessary that the forces of the several colonies should form one army, and be under a single command. The Prime Minister of Victoria seems to think that the existing Federal Council can constitute one Australian army, but Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, is of a different opinion. He points out that the Act constituting the Federal Council provides for no executive power. The Federal Council, in fact, could act only after consultation with the several colonies, and after obtaining their approval. This clearly is fatal to any military organisation. Sir Henry Parkes admits that the difficulty might be got over by a special Act of the Imperial Parliament, but he emphatically declares that no Australian Government would agree to such a plan, and it is very natural that the Colonial Governments should be extremely unwilling to invite the action of the Imperial Parliament in such a measure. If the Imperial Parliament can legislate for one matter affecting the interests of two or more colonies, it clearly may legislate for any other matter of the same kind. It is no doubt extremely improbable that Parliament would legislate except on the invitation of the colonies themselves. But still we cannot wonder that the colonies should be extremely unwilling to admit the principle that they must look to London for legislation where matters affecting more than one colony are concerned. Therefore, Sir Henry Parkes concludes that the necessity for a confederation of all the Australian Colonies is proved; and he proposes that a conference should be held, at which all the colonies should be represented. He suggests that each colony should send six members, four chosen by the House of Commons, and two by the Upper House, or

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Statist—*continued.*

where there is only one house, then only four members should attend. He would thus give precisely the same representation to the least important as to the most important of the colonies, his object being to reassure each that its own interests would he fully respected. It remains to be seen whether the other colonies will accept this invitation. If they do, then federation is immediately in view. It is well known that in Sir Henry Parkes' eyes Australian Federation is but a step to the federation of the whole Empire. He holds that the colonies separately are not in a position to negotiate effectively with the Mother Country for proper representation in the Parliament of the whole Empire. But if the colonies were grouped together in great federations, then they would be in a position to maintain their own interests. If his present proposal bears fruit, there would be only needed a federation of South Africa, and then the colonies could approach the Mother Country with a view to opening up the question of Imperial Federation.

Ayr Advertiser—

November 7th, 1889.

In all probability it will not not be long ere the question of Australian Federation enters the region of practical politics. It is on the threshold even now. The "grand old man" of Australian politics, Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has taken the initiative; and as the movement is one that is certain to take hold of a large section of the Colonial public—if not the Colonial public *en masse*—we may expect ere long to witness a drawing together of the different colonies for general purposes that will mark the dawn of a new era in the history of our Greater Britain in the Southern Seas. At the present time each of the colonies, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, has its own legislative chambers, and attends to its own domestic concerns. With the general weal, save in a moral sense, it does not concern itself, but confines itself to matters that are specifically and exclusively its own. Hitherto the system has worked on the whole sufficiently well, though a rivalry in the matter of tariffs has been productive of some very palpable friction; but it was evident long ago that a drawing together of the different colonies for the general behoof was inevitable. Australia is beginning to feel her own strength, and it is quite consistent with continued, even increased, loyalty to the Crown and to the Mother Country,

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Ayr Advertiser—*continued.*

that she should feel herself sufficiently strong to stand alone. With the *status quo*, for example, in the matter of defence, Australia would be in serious danger were this country to be engaged in a prolonged and exhausting struggle. The Queensland defensive squadron would hardly be sufficient to protect its own extended coast line; and even were the cruisers of an enemy to appear off Port Phillip Heads or in the Gulf of St. Vincent, and threaten, in the one case, Melbourne, and in the other Adelaide, the Queenslanders, in the condition of panic that would prevail, would never think of sending their warships so far from home. But in the event of federation for mutual defence, there could be nothing to prevent the Australian fleet, under one commander, and equipped for its work, sailing hither and thither wherever danger threatened, and thus rendering serious attack on the coast a practical impossibility. A united Australia would be impervious to attack. No fleet could ever be despatched sufficiently strong to cope with its navy; and no body of soldiers could be landed on the Colonial shores that could not be satisfactorily accounted for by the Australian soldiery, who, as in the case of the fleet, could be handled where their concentration was most desirable. The proposal of Sir Henry Parkes is not one that need excite any alarm at home. It is founded on loyalty to the Mother Country; and instead of being a source of weakness, it might, on the contrary, be a source of incalculable strength. Australian soldiers have already fought side by side with our own in Egypt. That quarrel was not one that concerned the colonists in any sense whatever. Osman Digma might have swept the Egyptians before him, and the Madhi might have set up an independent kingdom over the whole of the Soudan, without Australia being a whit the worse. The real importance of the Colonial loyalty lay, therefore, in the assurance that Australia has cast in her lot, for good or for evil, with the Mother Country; and just as the bringing of the East Indian native troops to Malta indicated the great force available in Hindostan, so the voluntary aid furnished by the colonists of Australia was the index to an unknown future of mutual help and unbroken friendship. It may be hoped, therefore, that the proposal of the New South Wales statesman will be received at Home by all political sections of the State with the best wishes for its accomplishment. The federation aimed at is inevitable; and it is as safe as it is inevitable, so long as it is not regarded jealously or factiously.

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Richmond Herald—

November 8th, 1889.

THE question of Australian Federation is once more coming to the front, Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, having addressed a despatch to the Premiers of the various colonies on the subject. In this document the New South Wales Government, through its Premier, believing the time to be ripe for consolidating the Australias into one, invites the Governments of the other colonies "to join in taking the first great step, namely, to appoint representatives to a national convention for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government." It is suggested that six members should attend from each colony, and the scheme of government, it is assumed, would follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government for Canada, providing for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Commons. New Zealand is invited to join in the scheme; for it is manifest that a federation that did not include the Great Britain of the South would be very incomplete, if indeed not a failure. That federation will come one day there can be no doubt; nor can there be any doubt that when it does come it will prove a source of blessing to the Australian Colonies.

The Overland Mail—

November 8th, 1889.

THE despatch which Sir Henry Parkes has sent round the Australian Colonies, like the telegram of the Queensland Premier on the appointment of Colonial Governors, is undoubtedly a document of momentous interest, but it has hardly excited in Great Britain much more than the languid attention which the average Englishman pays to matters that only indirectly concern him. If Australia is content with the present arrangements—which are all in her favour—well and good; if she should prefer to have some other arrangement, she can have it—or make it; the Home Government will look on with amiable indifference, so long as it is not asked to contribute money.

Sir Henry Parkes, who is by all odds the most eminent of Australian statesmen, has not thought it worth while to consult the Colonial Office before taking action which, whatever be his immediate motives, is a step

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The Overland Mail—*continued.*

towards the establishment of Australian independence. The Colonial Office will not protest. The British public, between ignorance and indifference, sees no grounds for troubling itself about the matter. Indeed the probability is—if we regard it simply as a business question—that there would be no loss but a clear gain, so far as the Queen's Government is concerned, in the secession of the South Pacific territories from the Empire. The Home Government would be relieved of any responsibility for their defence, for their ambitions of territorial extension in the Pacific, for their relations to Germany, the United States, China, and other Powers, for the protection of Australian citizens and their property throughout the world or the vindication of their rights in foreign countries. Those things the Australians would have to look after for themselves, and pay for very likely through the nose. The Government of our self-governing colonies is in most cases exploitation of the majority by a few demagogues and capitalists. Independence would bring with it some dangers and many burthens. It is hardly likely, for instance, that China, whose fleet could blow the whole commerce of Australia out of the water and possibly destroy its ports, would, were she dealing only with an independent Australasian Federation, content herself with diplomatic remonstrances. The Australians would have to be prepared to establish their own diplomatic organization, to defend their own shores, and vindicate their own interests. They would be called on to make immense sacrifices, and the taxation necessitated by the exigencies of the new position would not only test the resources of their statesmanship to the utmost, but develop to an uncomfortable degree the divergencies between the varying interests of the communities scattered over a vast area, besides tending to contract their trade. The economic policy which would be forced upon them by the organization of an independent government would undoubtedly restrict, though it might not destroy, the commercial and financial relations between Great Britain and Australasia. On the whole then it is the colonies and not the Mother Country that would suffer the most from separation. All this, of course, lies on the surface, and must be in the mind of every intelligent Australian who considers the present position, or the consequences of altering it. Yet it is quite evident that a large and increasing proportion of the population in New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland is nursing, if not actually engaged in propagating, ideas of independence. The chief supporters of the British connection are the

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The Overland Mail—*continued.*

immigrants and the old people—such as have not lost touch with the "old country"; but the native generation—"young Australia"—feels little of the sentiment which makes the elders cling to the ties and associations of the distant "Home." Climatic conditions in most of the colonies are gradually divorcing the race physically and morally from the type and standard of the Briton; and this is true, albeit the first generation from European parents, favoured by a sub-tropical climate and unwonted good-living, has shown us some exceptionally fine specimens of human physique. Scientific experts tell us that that will not last. Tasmania and New Zealand may continue to grow fine men and women, but the race on the Continent of Australia will only be kept up to an approximate level with that of England and Scotland by constant importations from the Mother Country, that is to say by the adoption of a policy for promoting rapid immigration, and that is opposed by the classes who control Australian politics. It would be unwise to cherish delusions about Australia or exaggerate the promise of its destiny. Scientific opinion seems to be that the race which will inhabit Victoria or New South Wales a hundred or a hundred and fifty years hence will no more resemble the English race than the South American Spaniard represents the blood and spirit of the hidalgos. It is a moot question whether the vast population which is predicted for the continent will ever exist. Where gold is found population will collect so long as production lasts, but the main industry must continue to be the rearing of sheep and cattle. Australia will be made by her minerals and her grass. She refuses to receive the only population suited to her sub-tropical expanses, the Chinese and Hindoos, who could convert her wildernesses into gardens.

This is the country which Great Britain has partitioned out in vast blocks to a few hundreds of thousands of people. Being English they have worked with energy, have developed the gold and squatting interests, and have borrowed a good deal of money in England. But as the direct immigrants die out, a race is coming to the front which is not English in sympathies, or energies, or culture. It talks about Australia for the Australians. The answer from Downing-street would be, were it free to speak its mind:—"By all means take Australia for Australians. Were it not for the public sentiment in England, you might have cut the painter any time this past twenty years, and we should have been grateful to be rid of colonies which are always asking sacrifices and services

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The Overland Mail—*continued.*

from the Mother Country and never contented. You want to appoint your own Governors, to apportion Western Australia among a few score of your big millionaires, to annex groups of Pacific Islands, to form a federation and undertake your own defence—do it by all means. Sir Henry Parkes tells us that 'the colonies could never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering in the direction of the movements' of an army raised by its own colonies! In that case we, on our part, cannot undertake to provide for your defence by sea or land. You had better go, and go quietly. We are English, and we don't want a theatrical parting." That, we suspect, is what the British official in his heart of hearts thinks and would say if he dare speak out. He is not deceived by a bit of clap-trap like the sending of a few Australian troops to the Soudan on a military picnic. The Australians are rich enough to afford a demonstration of that kind, when it ministers to their *amour propre* and happens to suit the political game of a popular statesman; but official Englishmen will not allow themselves to be misled by it, as to the true feeling of the Australians. They take care to let us know at every turn that they consider themselves independent and intend to remain loyal only so long as it suits them. That might, it is true, be a long time, for at present the balance of interest in the connection lies heavily on the Colonial side, but Sir Henry Parkes' despatch shows that he, though a loyal supporter of the Imperial connection, begins to feel that it will be useless to fight much longer against the tendency of Australian opinion and he takes advantage of the very first attempt of the Imperial Government to institute an organized defence for the Pacific Colonies, to tell it practically that it has nothing to do with the matter, to criticise and disavow its mode of procedure, and to propose that the colonies—including Western Australia, which is as yet a Crown Colony of Great Britain!—should form a Federal Government and Executive, without reference to Parliament or the Crown. The true significance of the move can only be understood by those who are acquainted with the inner sides of Australian politics, and has not been appreciated by the British journalists who have written on the subject. Sir Henry Parkes begins to see that the party in Australia which wants to cut the painter is rising in influence, and, like a shrewd statesman, he wishes to be ready for any emergency. The Colonial Office will be only too happy if he succeeds. The British people will not be consulted.

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Edinburgh Weekly Scotsman—

November 9th, 1889.

THE telegraphic announcement from Sydney that Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, had at length intimated the adherence of that colony to the principle of Australian Federation is an event of first-rate magnitude. Practically it removes the last formidable obstacle to the ultimate adoption of that great scheme, which should prove a worthy rival of that which has brought strength and prosperity to the Dominion of Canada. New South Wales, for certain reasons of its own, has hitherto been the only colony to hold aloof from the federation movement, but, of course, its opposition was fatal. What are the motives which have produced this sudden change of position are not fully explained, though they are not difficult to divine. New South Wales has remained staunch to free trade, while the other colonies, and especially Victoria, have been wedded to protection. Unfortunately the protectionist feeling in New South Wales has been rapidly gaining ground, the position of the Ministry is becoming less certain, and considerable discontent has been created by the mismanagement of the railways and several public departments. Various boundary questions also, such as the withdrawal of water from the sources of the Murray for irrigation purposes, and the inconveniences of the rival tariff arrangements, have likewise produced a feeling that sooner or later something must be attempted to remove the constant and annoying friction. Sir Henry Parkes now admits that federation must soon come, and he loyally offers to facilitate its accomplishment by suggesting a National Convention, at which the colonies shall be equally represented, to consider and report on the question. Many very critical details have still to be settled, and grave difficulties and jealousies to be overcome before federation can be a fact; though, if it is taken up in the spirit displayed by Sir Henry Parkes, there is every prospect of its triumphant success.

Falmouth and Penryn Times—

November 9th, 1889.

SIR HENRY PARKES, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed a letter to Mr. Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, which will most likely be the preface to a new and important era in the history of our Australian Colonies. The letter was written in reply to a telegram in which Mr. Gillies suggested that the Federal Council created by the Act of 1885

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Falmouth and Penryn Times—*continued.*

might be utilised to "constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army," the formation of which had been advised by General Edwards, who has recently examined and reported upon the means of defence possessed by the colonies. Sir Henry does not agree with Mr. Gillies, and after a careful study of his letter, it is impossible to refrain from admitting the conclusiveness of his reasoning. He points out that the Federal Council has no means of putting its decisions into force, that it is simply a deliberative body, with no executive power behind it. It is, in short, a boiler without an engine. Its creation was really an experiment, and it has no element of permanency. In fact, it merely represents one short step towards the complete union which all thinking Australians are beginning to look upon, in Sir Henry Parkes' own words, as "inevitable." The idea is not new. It has been in men's minds ever since the gold discoveries made patent to all that Australia would in the course of another century be a rich and populous country, and the undisputed ruler of the South Pacific. Until quite recent times, however, the question has not been a pressing one. The existing system is obviously well adapted to meet all the requirements of a community in its first youth, and colonists have been too busy with developing the great natural resources of their adopted country to trouble their heads very much about any premature experiments in constitution making. The increase in population and wealth, and the development of an active public life of indigenous growth, have aroused in Australians that self-consciousness which is one of the first symptoms of emergence from the chrysalis stage of nationhood. The young giant feels that he is no longer a child; it is time for him to assume the *toga virilis*, to adopt a form of Government which will consolidate his vast dominions, enlarge his citizens' conception of their rights and responsibilities, and make his strength more readily and more effectively available either for attack or defence. Sir Henry Parkes thinks that the time for taking this momentous step has come, and no man is in a better position to judge than he. It is true that there is no such urgent necessity as there was in the case of Canada, but Australia's good luck in escaping the dangers and complications which have beset some of her sister colonies should not render her careless of the future. It should rather incite her to take measures to strengthen herself and ensure her safety similar to those which Canada has taken, and which, under the more favourable circumstances which Australia enjoys, may be expected to produce yet more satisfactory results.

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Falmouth and Penryn Times—*continued.*

The Premier of New South Wales suggests as a preliminary step that a National Convention should be appointed for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. It is proposed that the number of delegates from each colony should be the same and should be equally chosen from both sides of political life, and that the representatives should be elected by the Parliaments of the several colonies and receive commissions from the Governors. The task which the delegates would have set them would be the drawing up of a scheme of Federal Government, which, it is to be supposed, would be submitted to the electors for approval just as the judgment of the citizens is invited on the new constitution of an American State. The consent of the Imperial Parliament would also have to be obtained, but this would come as a matter of course. England would be only too glad to see her powerful offspring adopting such measures to aid her development and provide for her defence as experience certifies to be the best. The time of irritating interference, dictated by the smallest and most short-sighted jealousy, has happily gone by. No reasonable being will imagine that the associated delegates will have altogether plain sailing in this great business of constructing a federal constitution for Australia. There is no very imminent danger threatening the island continent; no combination of circumstances in which the most obstinate is forced to see plainly written the warning "Federate or perish." Such perils as exist are visible only to those political seers who are blessed with that keen insight into the ultimate issues of present developments which is the rarest and most valuable gift that a statesman can have. Men of this kind are forced now-a-days to lead by affecting to follow. They are obliged to often subordinate their own opinions to others which they know to be of doubtful soundness. In order to carry one vital point they have to give way on several which are important though not all-important. The mutual jealousies of the colonies, uncurbed by any strong common sentiment of fear, will doubtless throw many obstacles in the way. Such questions as that of the centre of Government for the new federation, the adoption or non-adoption of free trade between its various members, the amount of power to be respectively possessed by the Federal Congress and the subordinate Parliaments, will afford much ground for discussion, and the debates upon them will not improbably reveal wide divergencies of opinion. But if each member of the convention enters it with the determination to make everything secondary to

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Falmouth and Penryn Times—*continued.*

the preparation of a workable scheme of federation, there can be small chance of this great experiment ending in a fiasco.

Will the adoption of such a scheme bring the Australian Colonies nearer to the Mother Country, and consequently bring all Anglo-Saxondom nearer to the realisation of that bright dream of a great and inviolable brotherhood, or will it hasten what some regard as an unavoidable separation? Will its final fruit, in short, be a federated Empire, or a new Federal Republic? There are many able men in both hemispheres who look upon Imperial Federation as the pet craze of a few unpractical political visionaries, as a proposition altogether unworthy the consideration of working statesmen, and only useful as a means of keeping a set of meddlesome and crack-brained faddists out of mischief. The initiators of every great new departure, social, political, or religious, have been ridiculed and denounced by the people, who mistake an entire lack of originality and a slavish tendency to run in grooves made by somebody else for common-sense. The truth is that some of the leading supporters of Imperial Federation are practical and hard-headed men in the best sense of those terms. Lord Rosebery, the Chairman of the London County Council, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the leading spirit in the formation of the great new South African Company, are scarcely visionaries. Yet both are strong supporters of, and believers in, Imperial Federation. After all, democracies prefer to be led by men who are not altogether devoid of imagination and sentiment, who recognise that nations cannot be governed as if they were merely huge and elaborate machines. There is some ground for hoping that federation will not be looked upon by Australians as their final process of national evolution, that they will regard it only as a phase in their development, as a prelude to a yet grander fruition. If the men of the new federation have that capacity for almost unlimited widening of the mental horizon for which their race has always been noted, and which has evolved the elaborate English constitution out of the rudest and crudest elements, there is small fear that they will stop short with the accomplishment of Sir Henry Parkes' project. Their success in that undertaking will give them greater confidence in their own powers, besides proving the value of combination. They will attack the infinitely more difficult problem of Imperial Federation, or British Federation, as it might more appropriately be called, with an increased belief in their ability to overcome obstacles, with a strengthened faith in the desirableness of the end in view. Long and toilsome will the labour be,

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Falmouth and Penryn Times—*continued.*

but if the task is hard and painful the achievement will transcend in glory all man's previous exploits. The firm fixing on an unshakable foundation of the colossal structure of a world-girdling Anglo-Saxon dominion would be the mightiest forward movement ever made by mankind, the sure pledge of the supremacy of the noblest instincts of our nature in the future working out of the world's destiny.

Gloucester Journal—

November 9th, 1889.

Is Imperial Federation the chimerical thing it is said to be? We may or we may not live to see the day when all the British dependencies send representatives to a great governing Council, when there shall be one great Parliament to govern the affairs of an Empire on which the sun never sets. At the present time Imperial Federation is considered but a shadowy ideal. But a great step has been taken towards its realisation by the important despatch just issued by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales. Some five or six weeks ago Sir Henry Parkes startled the Australian Colonies and the Mother Country by some very definite statements he made in favour of Australian Federalism. The New South Wales Premier is perhaps the most influential politician in Australasia, and he speaks therefore with an amount of authority that no one dare call in question. When he distinctly records his belief in Australian Federalism his views deserve thoughtful consideration. The matter came about in this way: General Edwards has recommended that the general defence of Australian territory should be made a matter of common concern to all the Australian Colonies. The thing is self-evident, the only arguable point in connection with it being as to ways and means, and the relative share to be taken by the various colonies. But when Sir Henry Parkes looks at the existing institutions of the country from which such a thing should come, he is by no means satisfied. The Government of Victoria says that the Federal Council possesses the power requisite to constitute, direct, and control a united Australian army. There has long been a jealousy between Victoria and New South Wales, and it is no surprise to find that Sir Henry Parkes does not concur in the conclusion. Nevertheless the question has to be faced. He carefully examines in succession the

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Gloucester Journal—*continued.*

several alternatives, such as the creation of a common army either by the Federal Council or by the Imperial Parliament, or the combination of the several Executive Governments, otherwise independent, for the purpose of creating and controlling a common army, only to reject them. He is thus driven to the conclusion that, a common army being necessary for the purpose of the economical and effective defence of Australian territory, that necessity leads by irresistible sequence to federation. "Hence, then," he says, "this first great federal question, when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of preferences and prejudices, face to face with the imperative necessity for Federal Government, and why should we turn aside from what is inevitable?"

The scheme for the general defence of Australia must be understood if the foundation of the body to be called into existence to decide upon it is to be well and truly laid. General Edwards has advised, among other things, the federation of the several Australian contingents, and the appointment of a single commanding officer for the whole body; that a military college should be established, common to all the colonies; and the introduction of a uniform railway gauge. If a scheme of such vast importance is to be carried into effect it is clear that some more representative and responsible body than any that at present exists in Australia must be founded. At present the only central authority is the so-called Australian Federal Council, in which, by-the-bye, New South Wales has steadily refused to be represented. It is, moreover, not an Executive Council. Herein comes Sir Henry Parkes' opportunity for pushing forward his scheme for a real federation of the colonies. So convinced is the New South Wales Premier that Federal Government must come that he somewhat petulantly asks "why should we turn aside from what is inevitable in the nature of our onward progress; it must come, a year or two later possibly, but in any case soon." To achieve the high aim he has in view, Sir Henry Parkes invites each colony to send six representatives, appointed by Parliament and chosen in equal numbers from each of the two political parties, to the proposed National Convention, four members being taken from the Assembly and two from the Council in each colony. Western Australia, having only one House, might, he suggests, only send four representatives; and thus, if New Zealand thought proper to join the Convention, the total number of representatives would be forty. This Convention would be empowered to discuss and recommend for adoption a form of Federal Constitution. "The scheme of Federal

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Gloucester Journal—*continued.*

Government, it is assumed, would necessarily follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and House of Commons." This, in outline, is the Federal Government which the New South Wales Premier proposes, and everyone is interested to see what response the other colonies will make. The greatest difficulty is between New South Wales and Victoria. New South Wales is a free trade colony, and Victoria protectionist. How to bring them under one Government will prove a hard problem to solve. Nevertheless, no one disputes that it would be a great and a good thing to federate the group of contiguous colonies in Australasia; and the federation of the Australian Colonies affords some hope to those who believe that the day of the federation of the Empire is at hand.

Hampshire Telegraph—

November 9th, 1889.

A NEW Australian question is upon us. General Edwards was recently sent out to Australia to examine and report upon its means of defence, and has reported in favour of the federal action of Australian troops. The Prime Minister of Victoria, Mr. Duncan Gillies, at once telegraphed to the Prime Minister of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, suggesting that the provisions of the Federal Council's Act might be employed to carry out the recommendations of General Edwards. This did not meet the view of Sir Henry Parkes, who intimated that the Federal Council did not possess the powers attributed to it by Mr. Gillies. Sir Henry was an opponent of the Federal Council's Bill when it became law four years ago. The Bill provided for the formation of a Federal Council of Australasia, on which each colony was to be represented by two members, except in the case of Crown Colonies, which were to be represented by one member each. Owing to Sir Henry's opposition, New South Wales as well as New Zealand have held aloof from the Council, so that the scheme has been federation only in name.

Sir Henry Parkes' objection was that the Act attempted to galvanise a sham federalism into life. He believes in a federation of the colonies,

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Hampshire Telegraph—*continued.*

but not in this federation. Touching General Edwards' proposals, he says, "The Executive Governments of the several colonies could not act in combination for any such purpose, nor could they so act independently of each other." The suggestion is that Parliament might constitute a federal army, and upon this he observes that "the colonies would never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering with the direction of its movements." Sir Henry is not content with destructive criticism. He thinks that the time has come for consolidating the various Australian Colonies into one; and he invites the Victorian Cabinet to appoint representatives to what he calls a National Convention, for the purpose of devising and reporting on an adequate scheme of Federal Government. To avoid the sense of inequality, he proposes that the number of representatives from each colony shall be the same, and that the number in each case shall be six, equally chosen from both sides of political life. Four of them would be taken from the Legislative Assembly of the colony, and two from the Legislative Council. The scheme of Federal Government to be aimed at would follow close on the type of the Dominion Government of Canada, and would provide for the appointment of a Governor-General, and for the creation of an Australian Privy Council, and of a Parliament consisting of a Senate and of a House of Commons. Sir Henry Parkes, in fact, advocates a real federation, which would deal not only with the question of military defence, but would increase the prosperity and strength of the Australian Colonies by giving them the feeling that their interests and future run abreast. The question is, of course, one for the colonies themselves to decide, and we believe that whatever the present may bring, the future of Australia will be in accordance with the principles of Sir Henry Parkes.

Lincoln Gazette—

November 9th, 1889.

An American wit has said that most people are like eggs, so full of themselves they can't hold anything else. What is true of individuals is true of nations. England is so engrossed in the things under her eyes that she pays small heed even to the concerns of her children the colonists. Such trivialities as the squabble of "the strongest man on earth," as the advent of Barnum's circus, are greedily studied, whilst the

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Lincoln Gazette—*continued.*

most remarkable things going on at the Antipodes pass unheeded. The latest news from Australia is of startling importance, foreshadowing, as it does, the future relations of the Australian Colonies to each other and to the Mother-country. An English military officer, General Edwards, sent out to report on Australian defence, has given it as his opinion that it is a question on which all the colonies should take concerted action. The suggestion of the Premier of Victoria, Mr. Duncan Gillies, that the Federal Council Act should be employed to carry out the military recommendation, has called forth a despatch from the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, which is likely to prove a turning point in Australian history. Sir Henry Parkes, a born seer, realizes that the moment has come when Australia must take a decisive step. The Federal Council, he declares, is a nullity, has no executive power to act, whilst direct intervention by the Imperial Parliament is out of the question. The time is ripe for the setting aside of the Federal Act, and for a genuine federation of the colonies—New Zealand probably to be included. "Why should we turn from what is inevitable?" asks Sir Henry. "In the nature of our onward progress it must come. . . . It is a question to put to the mind and heart of Australia." In broad outlines he sketches a lusty skeleton scheme to which blood and muscle can hereafter be added. He proposes a National Convention in which the five colonies should be equally represented. He points to Canada as a desirable type of Federation, and holds up for imitation the Constitution of the United States. It is to be no reckless start; the Convention is to be guided by working models whose success is abundantly proved. Sir Henry Parkes is one of the most prevailing of statesmen. In spite of social disadvantages he has struggled again and again to the top of the wave. He has something of the sagacity of Lincoln, and he speaks with the force and directness of a Cobbett. It is certainly within the possibilities, although he is a veteran, that he may live to see himself Premier not only of one Colony but of the United Colonies of Australia. It will be interesting to note what the Australians think of the Federal proposition. At present they are divided by jealousies and prejudices. Will they rise to the occasion; will each State forget itself; sink differences and unite, as did America, under one flag, one country, one Constitution, one destiny. This tremendous question has arisen out of the defence problem. The Federation dream of the poet has become the reality of the statesman. Are the

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Lincoln Gazette—*continued.*

Australians in the fit stage when they can seize the idea, act upon it, and rise, as Sir Henry Parkes says, to that "higher level of national life, which would give them a larger space before the eyes of the world, and would, in a hundred ways, promote their united power and prosperity."

Newcastle Leader—

November 9th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, one of the most experienced and ablest of Australian statesmen, has come to the conclusion that the question of Australian Federation has entered the region of practical politics, and is now championing the reform with characteristic energy. The question, it is true, is not new either to Australia or to Sir Henry Parkes, who claims to have been an advocate of "genuine federation" for thirty-five years. Hitherto the scheme has been kept in abeyance, partly by the conflicting commercial policies of the colonies, but mainly by the rivalry of New South Wales and Victoria. The new start just made, however, looks like business. In his own province of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes is obtaining a great deal of public support for the proposal. He is wisely basing his advocacy of the reform on the broadest patriotic ground. He is seeking to extend the political range and aspirations of the people from colonial or provincial to the higher standpoint of Australasian interests generally. Not the advantage of individual members, but the advantage of the family as a whole is his present cry. Of course he does not contemplate or advise the abolition of the provincial administrations. On the contrary, he wishes to see them preserved and strengthened. He is a believer in local self-government; but at the same time he believes that that principle can be maintained and developed simultaneously with the constitution of a Central Federal Government. Modern experience strongly supports this theory, helping at once to explain and commend it. Sir Henry Parkes is proposing no newfangled scheme. What he is contending for is the principle on which the United States is founded—"one out of many,"—unity with liberty;—the principle, too, which has given birth to the Canadian Dominion, and which must shortly be applied to South Africa. The theory of Federation, it may therefore be assumed, is tolerably familiar to our Australian cousins, and it must become more acceptable

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Newcastle Leader—*continued.*

to them in proportion as they learn to think of themselves as Australians and of their common heritage in the upwards of three millions of square miles embraced within the Australian limit, instead of limiting their political views and aspirations to the particular colony among the seven provinces with which they happen to be connected by birth or residence or business enterprise.

Federation is indeed the natural issue of political development in Australia. The peoples occupying the different colonies are substantially of the same race, and inheritors of the same political traditions and faiths; and the similarity of their tasks as well as their kinship should facilitate the welding together of the seven provinces into one great dominion. They have an enormous territory to develop, and the magnitude of this work ought itself to induce them to seek the strength which comes from unity. Externally they have the same interests to defend and promote. They are practically united in holding views regarding the influx of foreign criminals, the introduction of Chinese or blacks, the assertion of fishery rights and such like, which may not always harmonise with the Home or Imperial views; and united they are more likely to command respect for their peculiar opinions and desires than they could expect to do if they remained separate. Then, again, their growing appreciation of the value of their splendid estate, and their determination to maintain possession of every part of it against any possible interloper or reckless adventurer must convince them of the need of larger and stronger means of defence than the Imperial Government, more especially if it was entangled or was in danger of being entangled in a foreign war, would care to provide; but they themselves could not supplement Imperial defence to any appreciable extent unless they joined together to organize a fleet or an army. Federation, moreover, would obviously give a roundness and a completeness to their national life which are still wanting. For example, it would call into existence a higher and common judicature—a Federal Court of Appeal, along with a Federal Parliament and Executive; and thus the sphere of public life would be at once extended and elevated.

The adoption of federation, therefore, is only a question of time. Whether or not Sir Henry Parkes is right in considering the question now ripe for practical settlement, federation will sooner or later force its way to Australia. In its present situation and outlook it is a law of nature. Its attainment will not be hastened by compulsion. No State

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Newcastle Leader—*continued.*

need be forced into the union against its will, nor has any possible dissenting State any interest or right to object to the union of the others. Let those provinces which are ready for federation join together. If even only two wish to federate, let them do so. If the Imperial Colonial Department is wise it will leave the provinces to the freedom of their will, encouraging federation perhaps as opportunity occurs, but doing nothing to compel it. It should treat the reform as a question of local self-government to be practically worked out by the people interested themselves. Certainly the Empire has nothing to fear from Australian federation. The strengthening of one of the parts brings strength to the whole. Doubtless, as already indicated, a Federal Government in Australia would be in a position to command greater respect for Australian views or interests as these might be affected by Imperial policy, than a single Provincial Government could expect to obtain. But it is well, perhaps, for the Imperial Executive that the need for increased consideration for outlying portions of the world-wide Empire should be enforced upon it. Forbearance, or self-restraint, when practised in combination with a general loyalty to one common interest—the power or disposition to seek the good of all the members of the Imperial family in preference to momentary individual advantage—is an ennobling and elevating influence in public life. If Australian federation should impose it on Britain, it is necessary also to remember it will likewise enforce a proportionately heavy exaction on the Australian provinces. The separate colonies, it is well known, are not agreed on the subject of Freetrade or Protection. Sir Henry Parkes frankly acknowledges this difficulty; but he insists that it must be regarded as a subordinate question. "In the bringing about of federation (he says), the question of Protection or Freetrade was a trifling matter as compared with the greatness of Australia, and the duty of giving to Australia an Australian Government."

The Salisbury and Winchester Journal—

November 9th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed a despatch on the subject of Australian Federation to the Premiers of the other neighbouring colonies, which will probably mark an epoch in their

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The Salisbury and Winchester Journal—*continued.*

history. He proposes that a National Convention, composed of six representatives of each Australasian Colony, chosen from both sides of political life, should be summoned for the purpose of "devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government." The events which have led up to this suggestion may be briefly explained. It will be remembered that General Edwards, who was sent to Australia to report upon its means of defence, recently recommended the federal action of Australian troops. With the view of giving effect to this recommendation, the Premier of Victoria, the Hon. Duncan Gillies, addressed a despatch to Sir Henry Parkes, explaining his views in favour of bringing the machinery of the Federal Council Act of 1885 into operation; and it is in reply to that message that the Premier of New South Wales has put forward his important proposals. While most anxious to meet the views of the other Australian Colonies, Sir Henry Parkes is unable to accept the view that the Federal Council "possesses the requisite power to constitute, direct, and control an united Australian Army." He urges that even if the words "general defences," which occur in the Act, give the Australian Colonies the right to enrol and maintain an army of their own, the fact that there does not exist any form of executive power to direct the movements of such an army presents an "impassable barrier" to practical action. In short, he believes that the existing machinery is altogether inadequate to enable the Executive Governments of the several colonies to act in combination for the purposes of self-defence and protection. He wishes to see the Australasian Colonies rise "to a higher level of national life, which would give them a larger space before the eyes of the world, and would in a hundred ways promote their united power and prosperity." To achieve these great objects, he argues that the Australias must be consolidated into one, with a Senate, a House of Commons, a Privy Council, and a Governor-General of the whole of Australasia. He assumes that "the scheme of Federal Government would necessarily follow close upon the type of the Dominion Government of Canada," and for the purpose of devising some such scheme of Federal Government acceptable to all the colonies, he warmly invites the other Australian Premiers to consent to the appointment of a National Convention. What response will be made to this appeal remains to be seen. We fear, however, that Sir Henry Parkes does not represent public opinion in the Australian Colonies, whatever may be the feeling in New South Wales, when he says that

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The Salisbury and Winchester Journal—*continued.*

"the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one." Be that as it may, the significance of his despatch is that the proposals it contains for federation come from one of our colonies and not from the Mother-country. That is as it should be, and is the most hopeful sign we have yet seen of the practical realization of a scheme which would bind our great Empire more closely together for the purposes of self-protection and commerce.

Exeter Gazette—

November 9th, 1889.

THE despatch from Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to the Hon. Duncan C. Gillies, Premier of Victoria, is full of import and sound reasoning in the direction of Imperial Federation. Indeed, nothing more sound has ever been uttered in connection with an object that is much discussed by all statesmen, whether Home or Colonial, and that which Sir Henry Parkes has said will be echoed not only by Lord Salisbury but by every Liberal Unionist in the country, since it is suggestive of a self-sustentation that is worthy of the offshoots of our race. That the policy laid down by Sir Henry on the score of defence was deemed to be highly suggestive and practical may be gathered from the fact that no time was lost in "wiring" it to England. The telegram came from Sydney, but there can be no doubt that its dispatch was prompted by the Victorian Government, and that all the other colonies on that continent are fully in sympathy with it. Hitherto there has been much controversy in political circles in Australia and New Zealand as to the powers of what is called the Federal Council—a Council which was initiated by the Government of Victoria, and which held its sittings at Hobart, in Tasmania. The representatives of this federation were the Premiers of the colonies who adopted the idea, and no doubt they found a visit to the garden of the South Pacific a very pleasant outing, though all they could do in the way of legislation was rather suggestive than practical, since New South Wales, the parent colony, and South Australia, held aloof from the contract, on the ground, as Sir Henry Parkes practically expresses it, "that the Federal Council had no executive power to act at all in the name of Australia." But what it is important to notice is that the scheme put forward by Sir Henry Parkes for the defence of the country and ultimate federation follows the lines laid down by

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Exeter Gazette—*continued.*

Lord Carnarvon in respect of Canada, or, what it is common to call, British North America. The scheme heralds, in fact, another Dominion as powerful and as progressive as any which the British Crown can boast. As, then, consolidarity is what all are aiming at, it may be hoped that the thin end of the wedge Sir Henry Parkes has inserted will be driven home; that the Australians may be of one mind in respect of defence and Customs dues, and not divided, as they now are, by intercolonial jealousies and conflicting tariffs. If Australia should be of one mind in this connexion, there can be no doubt that the British Government would be in entire sympathy with it, and that no time would be lost in drafting a measure to give effect to a work of so national a character, because every year the field of its beneficent operations would be rapidly extending. As will have been gathered from the telegram, the idea is to make the Australians self-sustaining, and to relieve the British taxpayer of a conviction which somehow or the other he cannot get rid of that the Colonies are an incubus on the rates. More than this, it is designed to show that the statesmen of our other Englands are anxious to assist to sustain the prestige of the old country out of their own resources. From this point of view the "manifesto" of Sir Henry Parkes comes like a gleam of sunshine now that the sun has left us and is about to radiate in all his fulness in Southern latitudes. It is not a little singular that Sir Henry Parkes, who has always been in controversy with the statesmen of the other colonies on the Australian Continent, should—at the eleventh hour, as it were, of a long political experience—have formulated a proposal so full of significance as that under review. All we can hope is that it will take root, and that Sir Henry may live to see his proposals realized. He is an old man now, but, though old, he is stalwart. Perhaps no man has had a more strange experience of life than he has, since when he first went to New South Wales he worked as a storeman in an iron store, then started in business on his own account as a toy-maker, and subsequently became proprietor of the *Empire* newspaper and Premier of the Colony. An old chronicle says that "in 1848 he took an active part in the election of the Hon. Robert Lowe," now Lord Sherbrooke, for Sydney. Well may Shakespeare say, "It is a strange world, my masters," in which a toy-maker may, by dint of energy, rise to such a distinguished position as that now enjoyed by Sir Henry Parkes.

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Army and Navy Gazette—

November 9th, 1889.

THE letter of Sir Henry Parkes upon the question of a Federal Australian Army, which appeared in the daily papers this week, puts the whole matter into a nutshell for our convenience. As Sir Henry Parkes says,—Who is to assume the responsibility of issuing the necessary orders for the raising of this federal army, and who is to command the force when raised? The existing Federal Council has no executive authority whatsoever. But without an executive authority no federal force can be raised or mobilised; nor could it be commanded even if, for the sake of argument, it were assumed to exist. The rivalry between Victoria and New South Wales, as two vast, contiguous, but entirely independent colonies, precludes all likelihood of Victoria submitting to have the head-quarters of the prospective "federal army" at Sydney, or of New South Wales being contented to place its youthful army of 20,000 or 30,000 able-bodied colonial soldiers under the command of a General at Melbourne. And even if either of them could be induced to give way, is it at all probable that New Zealand, with all its warlike traditions, and containing many regiments of tried warriors who, unaided by British troops, succeeded in doing what a large British force was unable to accomplish—that is to say, cleared their country of the Maori pests—is it at all probable that New Zealand would place its veteran army at the disposal of an Australian Colony? Clearly not. And the Colonies of South and Western Australia, and of Queensland, are equally independent in their notions. Perhaps some antiquated impressions may remain in the minds of those in Great Britain that pressure put on at the Colonial Office would persuade the various colonies to combine? Here Sir Henry Parkes' letter gives a clear and unmistakable opinion. "The Imperial Parliament," says he, "on the application of the colonies, could no doubt pass an Act to constitute a federal army under one command, and authorize its operations in any part of Australia, but the colonies would never consent to the Imperial Executive interfering in the direction of its movements." The result would be a federal army without a federal executive to deal with its movements. So it is manifest that the colonists cannot usefully be induced by Imperial pressure to create and mobilise a federal force. What, then, is the alternative? Sir Henry puts it in a few words: "Hence, then, this first great federal question, when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of preferences or prejudices, face to face with the imperative necessity for

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Army and Navy Gazette—*continued.*

Federal Government; and why should we turn aside from what is inevitable? In the nature of our onward progress it must come, a year or two later possibly, but in any case soon, I hope." Here is the reply to the entire question. Before the creation of a Federal Australian army can be effected, the constitution of a Federal Government must be taken into consideration. There is little doubt that Sir Henry Parkes speaks with prophetic sagacity, and that ere long the Australian Colonies will form a powerful Federal Republic, as an appanage of the British Empire. It may be good for the latter, and it may not. But we can never cease to regret the policy which withdrew the whole of our troops from Australia and New Zealand. Had a half-battalion only been left in each capital, they would have been as so many links connecting the Home Government with the remote Dependencies, and would have kept us "in touch" with our colonial cousins.

United Service Gazette—

November 9th, 1889.

Of late the question of Imperial Federation has hung fire. It is, therefore, refreshing to those interested in the subject to know that the question is being debated in India, a country in which up to the present time it has attracted little attention. Consequently we make no apology for reproducing an article from the *Statesman* on this important subject, and also a communication from a correspondent of that journal. Our contemporary says that the question of Imperial Federation is revived in our columns by a writer whose communication, under the *nom de plume* "Enthusiast," contains several errors of fact, attributable doubtless to an imperfect study of the subject. At this distance it is difficult to pronounce in a matter of this kind in regard to Australia and Canada, without special means of information, which to be of value must be up to date. But we know the Australian Colonies cannot agree among themselves as to Customs duties and other matters of fiscal policy, in consequence of one part of them being protectionists, another part free-traders, and a third a mixture of the two. Their differences are such that at the present moment Victoria and Tasmania are at open war on the customs question, each resorting to retaliatory measures. How then,

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United Service Gazette—*continued.*

it may be asked, can they be expected to agree on any active scheme of Imperial Federation? The first object to be obtained would be an agreement among themselves; and this, we fear, is not yet likely to come about, although a good deal has been done in this direction by the recent Conference of representatives of all these colonies, who met in council to settle difficult points of intercolonial policy. Looking at the question of Imperial Federation, not only as it affects Australia, but Canada, our numerous Eastern possessions, and our dependencies in the Mediterranean, we can only say, as we said years ago when the subject was first mooted, that it cannot be anticipated that populations residing so far apart from each other as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, would always think alike on questions of foreign policy. A war that to an Australian might appear a just and proper enterprise—say against France on account of the New Hebrides question, or against China for bringing the Celestial Government to terms in the matter of Mongol immigration—would hardly present itself in the same light to a Dutch farmer at the Cape, or to our colonies in America. Nor, on the other hand, do we think the Australian Colonies would feel inclined to contribute to the expenses of a war with the United States over the Behring Sea fishery dispute. It is, moreover, very doubtful whether, even granting the most liberal representation, our various colonies and dependencies would have any real voice in determining the foreign policy of the Empire. The chances are they would speedily be reduced almost to the insignificance of the colonial deputies of the French Republic—simply the mockery of a political idea. Our correspondent "Enthusiast" recommends the Imperial Government to issue "invitations to the Governments of the self-governing colonies to send delegates to London to confer and report on the possibility of establishing closer and more substantial union with the mother-country." Such a step is unnecessary, for the union with the mother-country could not be closer or more substantial than at present. Each of the Australian Colonies has its Agent-General in London to watch events of importance to the colonies, and to communicate them to their respective Colonial Governments, to attend to the question of emigration to the colonies in so far as concerns assisted emigrants, and to represent to the Imperial Government the colonial claims wherever the Imperial prerogative is concerned. A deputation of successful Australian agriculturists—we suppose "Enthusiast" means squatters—

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United Service Gazette—*continued.*

would speedily degenerate into a mere advertising medium or resolve itself into a pleasant little jaunt for the delegates. We can understand the visit of the American trade representatives to England, for they had something to learn therefrom, though even in their case we suspect the advertising element entered largely into the trip. With an Australian deputation it would be otherwise. They could not represent the class it is desired to bring to the colonies, for they would be prosperous men of independent means for travel, whereas those whom they addressed would be starvelings without the means of leaving the old country. "Enthusiast" has not studied the subject sufficiently, or he would know that the men that are required in Australia, as well as in America, are not the paupers and scum of the agricultural population, but men capable of obtaining an "honest independence," as "Enthusiast" puts it, by hard honest work and perseverance. On the other hand, the men that England can least spare are the farmers and agricultural class that the colonists most want, while *vice versa* those the colonists do not require are the men the home country would best like to get rid of.

As to a jaunt of this sort converting the delegates into eager advocates of Imperial Federation, "as it would mean the safety and protection of their property and the future greatness of the land of their adoption." The writer forgets that the Australian Colonies do not look to Federation for protection. They regard it only as a means of union, more particularly in the matter of fiscal policy. It has been declared over and over again in the Australian Press that Federation could not give the colonies more protection than they already have got, while it would render them liable to contribute to the defences of distant parts of the Empire with which they have no concern. At present each colony, we believe, contributes, if not directly, at least indirectly, to the support of the Australian Squadron. Victoria has its two or three ironclads and a fleet of torpedoes, and two other colonies are equally protected by sea, whilst every Colonial capital is well fortified against invasion. With but one exception they all have small standing armies, a militia, volunteers, and naval reserve forces; and, according to Major-General Edwards, who has recently inspected and reported upon the military resources of Australia, these forces are in a high state of efficiency. Where, then, we may ask again, would the advantages of Imperial Federation, as it is generally understood, come in? The colonists are in a position to defend themselves, and have been so ever since the withdrawal of the English redcoats from Australia in

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United Service Gazette—*continued.*

1865, when the British Government tacitly admitted that the time had come when her children under the Southern Cross might be left to look after themselves. As was observed by the late Hon. Bede Dalley, it is not a question of what relief Australia would require from the mother country in case of war, but what measure of assistance it could give the Empire. And the man who said this was the colonial statesman that sent the New South Wales contingent to Suakim.

Into the subject of Imperial Federation as applied to India we need not follow our correspondent; for in his remarks on this head "Enthusiast" simply slides into another and different question—that of associating the native Princes with us in our armies—a matter which has really nothing to do with Imperial Federation in the general acceptation of the term. Our readers are aware that we have long urged the wisdom of throwing open the commissioned ranks of our army to the sons of the native nobility and aristocracy. By finding employment for them as officers in our armies, we should be opening an outlet for energies which otherwise may be exhausted in questionable pursuits. Russia acts more wisely, or shall we say more liberally, than ourselves in this respect. She has literally absorbed the talent of the warlike tribes in Central Asia in consolidating her conquests in those parts, and with conspicuous success. At the present moment the most notable, and judging from past events, the most formidable element in the Russo-Asiatic Army consists of the Turcomans—the very race that only after a stubborn resistance has at length bowed to Russian rule—while Armenians hold high positions in the ranks of the Czar's Army. France, again, has in Algeria and in her African possessions generally adopted the same policy with excellent results. And we believe it to be unquestionable that a similar course in India would bind the native Princes to us and thereby greatly contribute to the safety of the Empire. If our rulers could only be made to see it, instead of relying on mercenaries for the defence of the Empire, there lies ready to our hand, in parts of India, all the material for constructing a genuine army officered by its own sons and animated throughout by a spirit of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown which would make it a source of real strength to us and the envy of the world. But all this has nothing to do with Imperial Federation, except in so far as it touches the question of enlisting the sympathies of the Indian people in the welfare of the Empire, by giving honorable employment to them and satisfying their legitimate ambitions, born of a

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United Service Gazette—*continued.*

warlike ancestry, for a military career. It will come some day no doubt, though meanwhile it will be dismissed as the dream of an "Enthusiast." The following is the communication of "Enthusiast," above referred to:—

"Our Queen has received the most convincing proofs of the loyalty of the independent Princes of India to the British rule in the eloquent offers of military support which have been proffered by them, and there can be no doubt that our greatest safety in this country lies in conciliating and binding *irrevocably* the independent war-loving nations who occupy the position of sentinels over the land we rule. At the same time it must be a compact which will benefit both parties, for Great Britain must ever give, where she receives, support. In this country we are victims to chronic attacks of the Russian scare, and there can be little doubt that a Russian invasion would be as injurious to the independent native Princes as to British rule. A little reflection and careful study of our geographical position will, however, show that we should rather prepare ourselves to anticipate danger from China, in place of allowing fear of Russia to engross our minds. China is a country teeming with a countless population, who are intelligent, thrifty, and are yearly becoming more and more proficient in the art of war. The fear of death is unknown to the celestial, and the devotion to his country's advancement, coupled with his belief in future happiness as a reward, are the ruling passions of his life. Should the national flood-gate of China once be forced open by the ever-increasing masses, there is nothing to prevent its countless myriads sweeping over this country; a human deluge against which no divided force could stand. It is interesting to note that our colonies and America are already fearing the danger of receiving into their midst pioneers of a foreign Power, who once located, spread in the same alarming way as imported rabbits—once a blessing, now a plague, destroying all in their path and defying extermination by their numbers. It is self-evident that in this country we must do all in our power to prevent internal dissension when we have such a powerful neighbour as China on the look-out for fresh territory, and already busy colonizing our latest possession, Burmah, and showing the wisdom of serpents by marrying its women.

"Now Imperial Federation properly applied to India will open up careers for the native Princes, their followers, and all the warlike population of this great land, and will bind our fellow-subjects to us in a way that nothing else can ever attain; and secure for us the lasting friendship of the independent nations around us. There are numerous young noblemen in this country eager to distinguish themselves, only lacking the opportunity, and in despair of a career of glory and in the absence of healthy excitement, they resign themselves hopelessly to sensual enjoyments, which alas! too often become hard masters when they should ever remain the attendants on pleasure. There is no reason why these noblemen should not prove some of the brightest ornaments of the Army of Imperial Federation, and a few years passed by them with their troops in British possessions out of India would improve these gentlemen just in the same way as a few years of military foreign service improve and

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United Service Gazette—*continued.*

qualify the sons of English noblemen for the later duties they have to discharge in their native land. Those native Princes and gentlemen who have visited England know what a kind and brotherly welcome awaits them wherever the English language is spoken and their Empress reigns. It is rumoured that the Queen of England and the Empress of this land will have during the next few months to take a long sea voyage for the benefit of her health. Now could a more glorious opportunity occur for emphasizing the great interest her Majesty has ever taken in India, and the affection she has always borne for its people, than by sailing to this port and holding in Calcutta a Durbar of all the great Princes of the land. It would be the most eloquent way of expressing a nation's gratitude and appreciation of the loyal offers already received, for the Queen mother to come and see her foreign children, and would also afford a glorious opportunity for the Empress of India to found the Army of Imperial Federation by having enrolled in her august presence all those Princes who desire an opportunity of achieving military glory and distinction in the world's history, and at the same time of showing their devotion to the British Empire. The effect of such a step as the above would do more to tranquilize Europe than all the sugared sophistry in the world. A few days in Calcutta would suffice for her Majesty to immortalize herself as no sovereign has ever yet done, and crown her glorious reign by a royal act which would cement two great nations together, and prove the real quickening of Imperial Federation, by founding an army which would be the most effectual means of securing peace and prosperity to the world at large, and prove an endless blessing in the ages to come."

United Service Gazette—

November 9th, 1889.

THE question of the Imperial Federation of the Australasian Colonies has again become *en évidence* in an important despatch addressed by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to the Victorian Premier, the Hon. Duncan Gillies. It appears from this despatch that the contention of the Premier of the sister colony of New South Wales is that the provisions of the Federal Council Act, recently promulgated, are wholly insufficient for the vitally important task of providing for the defence of the colonies, and Sir Henry Parkes fails to discover that the Council "possesses the requisite powers to constitute, direct, and control an united Australian army." No motive power exists for combining under one command the scattered and unconnected forces locally maintained by the several colonies in view of a great common danger.

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United Service Gazette—*continued.*

We rejoice to see that this question, which has for some considerable time past been left in abeyance by the Australasian Premiers, has again been keenly taken in hand by the oldest of the Australasian Colonies, New South Wales, as represented by Sir Henry Parkes, and that the grand scheme of Federation is not, after all, likely to be an idle dream. Much, however, would seem to depend on the co-operation and united support of the other Premiers with the views held and expressed by Sir Henry Parkes and embodied in the despatch alluded to. The lines on which they propose it should work would assimilate with those of the Government of Canada, the head of the executive power being the Governor-General; and the Australasian Army, which would include the forces of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, New Zealand, &c., being in like manner placed under the control of a Commander-in-Chief, whose selection would probably be made by the Imperial Government. The troops would become interchangeable one colony with another in time of peace, and ready for mobilization in case of invasion. The forces already organized in the colonies would, therefore, become the nucleus of a great and powerful army, which, growing and developing with the colonies themselves, would form in a time of emergency a powerful and effective ally to the mother country.

Our reason for advocating the cause of Imperial Federation is a two-fold one—Firstly, because it tends towards the strengthening and stability of our great Empire; and, secondly, because the proposed Australasian Army and Navy will make a most useful and important inlet from our army for the employment of officers of both Services, who frequently find that promotion is not easily gained, and to whom a newly organized Service would prove a great boon.

The inception of so important a scheme as Imperial Federation must necessarily be slow, but we trust that in the very slowness of its growth may consist its greater strength. We await, therefore, with the deepest interest the result which the bold initiative of Sir Henry Parkes is destined to receive at the hands of the other Australian Premiers, and we hope that the Defence scheme will at all events be carried to a successful issue, even if it should be found that the times are not yet ripe for carrying out to the full extent the remaining portions of this grand scheme of Federation.

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Vanity Fair—

November, 1889.

SIR HENRY PARKES' despatch to the Premier of Victoria is likely, in connection with General Edwards' scheme for common defence, to produce important results. The Australians are pretty well agreed that a common army and navy are necessary. They cannot be created without some sort of Federal Union. This Federal Union may be at first limited to purposes of defence; but once the first step is taken, it is probable that the scope of the Federal Council will be gradually extended. It has always seemed to me that the question likely to be regarded with the minimum of dissension was the naval and military question, and now it really seems as though it were about to form the first stage of a Federal Union.

Weekly Budget—

November 9th, 1889.

SIR HENRY PARKES, the Premier of New South Wales, has addressed an important despatch on the subject of Australian Federation to the Premiers of the other colonies. In his opinion the constitution, control, and direction of an united Australasian Army does not lie within the scope of the Federal Council under the wording of the Act of 1885. Sir Henry Parkes proposes the holding of a National Convention for the purpose of devising and reporting upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government.

Weekly Times—

November, 9th, 1889.

THE important despatch addressed by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, to the Prime Ministers of the other Australian Colonies marks the practical commencement of a movement which all Englishmen will watch with two-fold interest. First, because of the noteworthy disposition on the part of our Australian fellow citizens to draw closer the bands of union and to weld themselves into one mighty nationality, just as Mr. Gladstone and those who are working behind him are striving to persuade us here at home to reverse the tendency of all our past history and split up the cradle of the Empire into fragments; and, next, with a hearty desire that the English-speaking races of the great island continent of the South, with her numerous dependencies, may solve the problem of self-government as successfully as the United States of America did, and yet, if possible, may remain in at least as close and abiding connection with the mother country as the great sister

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Weekly Times—*continued.*

Dominion of Canada. In some respects, the solution should be an easier and more lasting one. There are neither temptations or threats to fear from a great contingent nationality such as may at any time be held out to British North America by the United States. Whatever her future destiny may be, it is almost certain that Australia, like the tiny island from which the people sprung who have colonized her, will remain self-sufficient and independent. The only question, of course, is whether the various colonies will adopt some bond of union like that of the United States, leaving each province self-governing and practically independent, or whether it will imitate Canada, and set up a common central Government, supreme in authority as well as entrusted with the control of the national defences. And then we shall all watch eagerly for the provision of some efficient but peaceful means of revising, from time to time, whatever Constitution may be adopted, and settling amicably the differences and difficulties which are almost sure to arise. One shrinks instinctively from the possibility of such crimes and blunders as once before in this century nearly split asunder the splendid monument of Anglo-Saxon capability for liberty and ordered government on the vast scale which the founders of the American Republic initiated. Australia, with her happy traditions of unbroken peace, will we trust, above all things, steer clear of the chances of a war of secession. That she may be equally fortunate in the avoidance of all foreign wars we must all heartily hope, but hardly dare so sanguinely anticipate. Australia—unlike Canada or the United States—is bound to become a great maritime Power, and her destiny as a trading and colonizing nation will, and must be, something like our own—possibly on a grander and vaster scale. She will most certainly regard the island-spangled archipelago of the East as her heritage; her's will be the task of penetrating the mysterious secrets of the Antarctic circle; her's, beyond all doubt, the ultimate suzerainty of New Guinea, and, possibly, of New Zealand; and she will not have been independent—or practically independent—for a generation, before questions will have arisen between her and some of the European colonizing Powers, in which she will only be able to make her position good with an irresistible navy at her command. That navy, however, will never—as some enthusiasts at home seem to think—be at the service of the common Empire. It would be ridiculous and unreasonable, for instance, to expect the Australians to uphold a tottering supremacy which we had become unable to uphold

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Weekly Times—*continued.*

in India or Africa. But, on the other hand, it will be equally unfair, when once Australia has set up in business for herself, to expect to involve the rest of the English-speaking races in quarrels of local origin which may arise between her and other countries. That, therefore, seems to us one of the first considerations that should dominate the councils of the forty delegates who are about to meet in the Convention suggested by Sir Henry Parkes—the provision of a navy and means for its sustentation and control by some supreme intra-provincial Government, strong enough to disregard panic, wise enough to shun unnecessary and embarrassing acquisitions, and honest enough to prevent the waste and peculation we have suffered so long and so grievously from at home. An army is quite a secondary consideration. The vast extent of the island continent renders her practically as safe from invasion as America herself, but not, of course, from the chance of the great damage a hostile fleet might inflict on her coast cities and harbours, and on her island possessions. Next, of course, will come the difficulty of settling the fiscal relations between the different colonies. We confess we do not see any other source of obtaining a revenue for the common central authority it is proposed to set up, except from the Customs duties, and we *do* see the jealousies which are likely to crop up as soon as that part of the question comes on for discussion. But we feel certain all such difficulties will in time be surmounted. The race that has made her what she is will never miss their great chance of proving what they are made of, and, however they settle matters, they may count on an utter absence here, at home, of the ill-will and jealousy that so miserably retarded the efforts of our American brethren of the United States. Whether Australia elects to remain a Dominion, still in connection with the Empire, or it is her destiny to erect a great Republic on the Southern seas, rivalling in splendour the vast Federation of the Stars and Stripes, we shall all the same wish her the heartiest God speed. She will be the farthest off of all our children, and yet the nearest. The twelve thousand miles of sea that separate us, unite us all the more closely in a common destiny. Our gift to her, above all others, will be the heritage of the great traditions of the sea-borne flag that in all ages and on all waters has made the Navy of England feared and honoured. Let us wish her the wisdom to conserve and cherish them, and the happy fortune to surpass them by the daring of her mariners, untarnished, if it may be, by the stain of blood and the smoke of battle.

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The West Briton, Truro—

November 11th, 1889.

THE prospect of a United States of Australia, bound together by the same ties of "union and liberty" as the United States of America, is one which has for many years enchained the imagination and inspired the thoughts of politicians. Gradually, but surely, the Australian Colonies have grown in wealth and population, but being so far removed from danger, and relying so completely upon the mother country, they have been steadfast in maintaining themselves in isolation and separation from each other. Different ideas on economical and other subjects have also prevailed in them, and this has to a great extent tended to keep them apart. Within the last few years, however, they have awakened to the fact that they were not, by their position, so entirely safe as they had supposed, and, because of this awaking, a weak sort of Federal Council was established in connection with them. There is now a widespread feeling amongst Australians that this Council is not all that could be desired, and that the Federal idea might bring the Colonies more closely together, and make them much stronger against a common foe. Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, has just written a letter to the Prime Minister of Victoria, Mr. Duncan Gillies, in which he points out the defects of the present Federal Council, and adverting to the necessity of concerted action for means of defence says:—"This first great Federal question when looked at fairly, brings us, in spite of preferences or prejudices, face to face with the imperative necessity, the Federal Government, and why should we turn aside from what is inevitable? In the nature of our onward progress it must come—a year or two later possibly—but in any case soon, I hope. I need not assure you that this Government is anxious to work in harmony with the Government of the sister colonies in the matter under consideration, and desirous of avoiding subordinate questions coloured by party feelings or collateral issues. It is a question to be put to the heart and mind of Australia, in view of the destiny of Australia, and a question which, it is hoped, all sections of the collective population will discuss without regard to narrower considerations." The matter has been so far thought out by the writer that he goes on to give particulars as to the manner in which the suggested Federal Government might be arranged, and he specially instances as examples the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America. When a man in the position of Sir Henry Parkes writes in so distinct and confident a tone we are warranted in supposing

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The West Briton, Truro—*continued.*

that the movement is progressing, and may be realized within a very few years. Sundry newspaper commentators have jumped to the conclusion that this letter of Sir Henry Parkes is a blow to the Imperial Federation idea, and a sign of the drawing away of the colonies from us; but we do not so read it. On the contrary, we think that an united and strong Australia would have less hesitation in joining hands with the mother country, inasmuch as it could do so with less danger to its own local independence, and on more equal terms.

The British Australasian—

November, 1889.

It would de deplorable if Australians were to allow the mannerisms of Sir Henry Parkes to stand in the way of that unity of their great continent, which now for the first time seems to be possible. So long as New South Wales held aloof, it cut the heart out of federation, not alone because of her large population and wealth, but because of her geographical position; for how could Victoria federate with Queensland while 500 miles and more of, so to speak, hostile territory separated them? We all know Sir Henry Parkes' way of pooh-pooing the suggestions of his neighbours. He is the Gladstone of Australia, and says, too, many things on the spur of the moment which he would be prepared to render more palatable later. He is quite right in asserting that the machinery of the present Federal Council is inadequate to the needs of a Federal Government, and to utilize that machinery for the establishment of a closer union would be a clumsy method of procedure. But there is no need to cry down the Federal Council as he always takes the opportunity of doing. When the Federal Council Enabling Bill was before the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, it was only lost by one vote, and had one man voted differently, New South Wales would have joined that limited federation, and Sir Henry Parkes might have before this discovered "that the time is ripe for consolidating the Australias into one." But he has now discovered it, and the people of New South Wales appear to be congratulating him upon the discovery, and the rest of Australia should be ready if they are wise to welcome the prodigal's return without scanning too narrowly the garb he wears for the time being.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

The British Australasian—*continued.*

Yet we find from the telegrams forwarded from Melbourne this week that Mr. Gillies is discussing with the other colonies Sir Henry Parkes' manifesto in a lukewarm spirit ; and as he and they consider that the Federal Council contains the nucleus of all that is required, there is no need for Sir Henry Parkes' proposed convention. The meaning of this is—and it is just as well to speak plainly—that as Sir Henry Parkes has snubbed his neighbours upon this question up to the last, they will snub him in return, and refuse to follow his lead in the matter. This feeling may be natural to individuals, but the welfare of Australia should be viewed from a higher eminence ; and, in acting in this way, both sides appear to be surrendering the substance for the shadow. Neither side will allow the other to score over the transaction, even though the profits are to be divided equally afterwards. The very name of the Federal Council acts upon Sir Henry Parkes as a red flag to a bull, and it is yet harder for men who have taken such an interest in the Federal Council as Victorian and Queensland statesmen have done to have it trampled on as the New South Wales Premier would like to do.

Yet, whether it be Federal Council, or whether it be convention, we have different names only to represent the same thing. Sir Henry Parkes would have each self-governing colony send six members to the convention. Victoria has petitioned Her Majesty to permit her to send six members to the Federal Council, and were the one proposal or the other adopted it would doubtless be that the same statesmen would represent their respective colonies. So far, however, we prefer the proposed convention, for the reason that it could be summoned together more quickly, the Federal Council for the present being limited to two members from each colony. If, too, we read the summary of Sir Henry Parkes' speech to his constituents at St. Leonards aright, he is prepared to go great lengths—greater lengths than we expected of him—to secure his scheme being accepted. He is prepared to entrust his free trade policy to the decision of the Federal Parliament, affirming roundly "that the question of protection or free trade is a trifling matter as compared with the greatness of Australia." Probably he is the more ready to merge this free trade policy into the greater one of Australian unity, because free trade in New South Wales is a risk which no office would care to insure. It may succumb at any time, and if it cannot be said that Sir Henry Parkes is now advocating a sounder policy, he is at any rate adopting a surer and more lasting one. It may,

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The British Australasian—*continued.*

perhaps, be magnanimous on the part of Victoria and Queensland and South Australia to accept the invitation of Sir Henry Parkes in this matter; but the people of Australia would at any rate know well why they did it, and as they would be merely surrendering the shadow for the substance they desire, let us hope that a short time will find that the welfare of Australia has triumphed over provincial jealousies and rivalries. For the present colonies will be the provinces of an Australian Dominion at no distant date.

Glasgow Mail—

November 13th, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, is doing his utmost to bring about the federation of the Australian Colonies. His idea is that New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, and West Australia—perhaps also Tasmania, which is little over 100 miles from the Australian shore—should unite, for purposes common to all of them, under a Federal Government. There is in existence a Federal Council, but it is incomplete, New South Wales never having sent a representative, or in any way acknowledged its authority over that colony. Indeed, the Council has little, if any, real authority. It is but a Council for consultation and advice. The people of New South Wales, as spoken for by their Prime Minister, want much more than that. They want a real Government for the whole of Australia, in matters concerning the whole, yet so constituted as not to interfere with the Home Rule of any of the federated colonies. The latter point is one upon which Sir Henry Parkes insists. He says that federation need not and must not impair the rights and power of the present Provincial Governments and Parliaments. The principal fault he finds with the Federal Council is that it has no power to deal with the question of federal defence; and it is, above all, for the sake of federal defence that he desires the establishment of a Federal Government. There are those who will say that defence is an Imperial matter, and doubtless it is; but a Government in London cannot easily conduct defence at the other side of the globe, and the Australian Colonies have been already authorized and encouraged to raise forces, man ships, construct forts, and organize a defensive system of their own—a system

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Glasgow Mail—*continued.*

auxiliary to Imperial defence, yet very largely free from Imperial control. Sir Henry Parkes admits that the Imperial Parliament could pass an Act for the federation of the Australian forces, but says that the Imperial Government could not direct their movements. Undoubtedly in a great war, with the ocean highway between this country and Australia blocked by naval operations, the Australians would have to rely in a great measure upon their own resources, and to conduct their own defence, in the event of attack. But federation involves much more than the question of defence. One would naturally think that it would imply the adoption of a common fiscal policy. But that is impossible in the case of the Australian Colonies. Victoria sticks to protection, while other colonies enjoy free trade—and it may be remarked free trade was established in New South Wales mainly by the exertions of Sir Henry Parkes during a previous Administration. Looking to the difficulty, if not impossibility, of agreement, he would keep the tariff question outside the federal arrangement. But pretty nearly everything else, not the exclusive business of any one colony, would come under the consideration of a Federal Government. Sir Henry Parkes declares that the time is fully ripe for federation, and that there is nothing in the shape of national life for which the Australian Colonies are not prepared. Some of our Tory friends may say that this declaration points to a complete national independence, and amounts to rank treason. We do not see the treason, but we see the foreshadowing of practical independence in Australian affairs. Australia wishes to be able to stand alone, in the sense of not being a burden to the Mother-country, and not being dependent upon her for help in any great contingency. It is to that the Australians are moving, though their strength is insufficient to enable them to reach it for a long time to come. We do not fear the movement. Australia is thoroughly loyal, and has not the slightest desire to sever the Imperial connection. Whatever will make Australia stronger will make the British Empire stronger. What the Grand Old Man of New South Wales—now in his seventy-fifth year—is working for can only be regarded as Home Rule on a larger scale. The Federation of Australia would be much the same as the Dominion of Canada.

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The Scotsman—

November 13th, 1889.

A VERY pretty political drama is being played on the Australian stage. From the old country its developments will be watched with a keen attention, which does not, however, rise to a painful degree of anxiety. We are personally interested, like the Australians themselves, in the question of an Australian Federal Union; but it is the interest of experienced elders. Distance gives us the advantage of seeing more clearly than the chief actors themselves how the course of things is to run, and that it is almost certain to have the customary happy ending, in a bond of hearts being publicly clinched and defined by the signing of a formal treaty of Union. In the meantime, the progress of the courtship of the "young people" at the other side of the world will afford a little entertainment as well as instruction to the Mother-country. Colonies who are "coming together" are, perhaps, best left to make their approaches in their own way; and observation of Australian events seems to show that too great ardour on one side may beget shyness on the other. A year ago it was New South Wales that was the pursued, and Victoria, representing the rest of Australia, that was pursuing. Now the tables are turned. The elder colony, in the person of Sir Henry Parkes, is eagerly pressing the suit for a Federal Union, and it is the other's turn to stand off and to feel or to feign coyness. As benevolent and interested onlookers, we know, of course, what all this means and how it will end. Union is merely a question of the date and the settlements. There may be some curiosity, however, to know why it comes about that the veteran Prime Minister of New South Wales, who till lately was regarded as looking coldly upon schemes of Australian Federation, should now be all on fire to knit the colonies together. Quite recently Sir Henry is reported to have said in a public speech that before Intercolonial Union came there would be ten colonies to deal with instead of the present six. The late Mr. William Westgarth, an enthusiastic advocate of both Colonial and Imperial Federation, had further opportunities of sounding the mind of the New South Wales Premier when he visited him a year ago in Sydney. He became aware that the "Grand Old Man" of Australian politics was "in no humour for agreements." "With the external quietness of an experienced statesman, it was yet evident that, to his mind, there did not appear much present hope of Intercolonial Federation"; and his interlocutor is constrained to admit that, while unable to conjecture exactly what was passing in the

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The Scotsman—*continued.*

mind of a venerable but somewhat enigmatical statesman, the prospects of the Union movement were overclouded "by the delay or abstention of his, the senior and most important, colony."

Now, however, not only is the Premier of New South Wales convinced that "the time is fully ripe for Federation," but is anxious to have it known that he himself is "the oldest advocate of a genuine Federation of the Australian Colonies," and for five-and-thirty years has given it his support. To the questions why he managed so well to dissemble his wishes up till the spring of the present year, and how it comes about that an Intercolonial Union which a twelvemonth ago seemed remote and contingent should suddenly become near and urgent, Sir Henry Parkes has, no doubt, his replies ready. He is an "old Parliamentary hand," who knows how to conceal, under an appearance of "external quietness," and even repugnance, feelings ready to burst forth when there was a suitable opportunity to give them free expression. Apparently that opportunity has arrived. Sir Henry, when he said in effect that there would be no Australian Union in his time, did not know how rapidly passing events and his own resolution would ripen; and the chance having come he has hastened to formally "pop the question." There has never been much question among thoughtful statesmen in this country, or in Australia, either as to the advantages of a Federal Union among the colonies, or as to the certainty that, sooner or later, such a thing would be brought about. The difference of opinion has been as to the terms and the method, and, in lesser degree, as to the agents in the work. The benefits which the colonists themselves would derive from such a measure are manifest and manifold. That these are real and not theoretical is shown by the instance of the Canadian Dominion, where in some respects the difficulties to be grappled with were more formidable than in Australia. Formed into a great Southern Dominion, the Australian States would be able to make their weight felt and their voice heard in a manner that is not possible so long as they consist of a number of provinces of comparatively small individual importance. They could speak and act with the united authority of an intelligent, energetic, and self-governing people, who already number three millions of souls, and who possess a continent as their heritage. They would be able to settle the questions in which they are mutually interested, such as defence and fishery legislation, a Federal Court of Appeal, "the influx of foreign criminals and the introduction of inferior alien races." It is not said that the decision of

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The Scotsman—*continued.*

United Australia on these and cognate matters would be invariably wise and right, but it would be taken with a full sense of responsibility and full guarantees that it represented the minds and wishes of a population that may be presumed to know their own affairs best.

Politically, there is no reasonable ground for fearing that Intercolonial Federation would weaken the bonds of loyal feeling and attachment that unite the people of Australia to the Crown and the Empire. On the contrary, there are good sound reasons for believing that it would draw those bonds closer, and possibly clear the way and help to form a basis for that scheme of Imperial Federation which so many desire to see, but of which few or none can give us any tangible idea. The grumbling and fault-finding which have so often been heard in Colonial quarters have arisen partly because we have not been able fully to understand the feelings and wants of the colonists, and partly because they have not fully understood us. A Federal Legislature and Executive, could these be called into existence, should go far to remove these causes of friction. There ought to be no more occasion of complaint on account of "Home neglect" or "Colonial fractiousness." An Australian or Australasian Dominion would be able to step in, and fulfil the "manifest destiny" marked out by its commanding position in the South Seas—a destiny which, by reason of unreadiness on our part and over-readiness on the part of competing Powers in the Pacific, is being rapidly circumscribed. Financially, the measure could scarcely fail to be of advantage to all concerned, though the terms of adjustment of debt and arrangement of duties would be matter for long and troublesome discussion. In a well-considered plan, the general interests ought to be benefited without the local interests suffering hurt. What form an Australian Federal Government and Legislature should take and what colonies it should embrace would, of course, be matter for careful consideration both here and at the antipodes. There would naturally require to be great care taken to guard against the clashing of authorities or the unfair preponderance of classes and districts. Distance would be one great difficulty in the working of such a scheme, as in any scheme for the Empire at large. There would be a natural desire to extend the bounds of the New Dominion over as wide an area of land and ocean as possible; while, at the same time, the more the limits are enlarged the greater would be the obstacles in the way of establishing a homogeneous and efficient authority, controlling, subject to Imperial oversight, continent and islands, and temperate and tropical regions covering a large part of the hemisphere.

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The Scotsman—*continued.*

All these difficulties could be gradually surmounted were the primary obstacle—that which is presented by the conflicting tariffs and fiscal policies of the Australian Colonies—got out of the way. This is the great stumbling-block in the way of Australian Union; and, having once got on the wrong track, the colonists will never be able to move on smoothly with each other or with the Mother-country until they have seen the wisdom of retracing their false steps. Sir Henry Parkes urges that the question of Protection and Free-trade is "a trifling matter compared with the greatness of Australia, and the duty of giving to Australia an Australian Government." In one sense this is no doubt true. But no one is more keenly alive than the New South Wales Premier to the influence which the advancing or retarding of the question of Intercolonial Federation will have upon the question of Free-trade or Protection. Hitherto he has been afraid, and not without reason, that in a Federal Union, empowered to deal with tariff questions, the predominating Protectionist views of the other divisions of Australia would overbear and reverse the Free-trade policy which he has championed with such good results in the senior colony. Evidently he has seen cause to alter his views. Federation would be an absurdity if combined with the maintenance of hostile tariffs as between federated States. It might be different with regard to duties on goods imported from abroad, including British manufactures. But the benefits accruing from the abolition of Intercolonial Protection should ultimately prove to be a valuable lesson in economic science to the colonists, teaching them that they will best serve their own interests by taking the shackles off the trade with their foreign and home customers. At all events New South Wales at present seems less afraid of losing its Free-trade by the Federation experiment than Victoria is of losing its Protective tariff. Melbourne thinks that all the Union necessary can be reached by the development of the Federal Councils, brought tentatively into being for the primary purpose of obtaining unity of authority in certain civil and criminal procedure. Sydney has not looked graciously upon the Federal Council experiments, and pronounces for a large and early measure of Union. In spite of the jealousies of rival colonies and statesmen the movement can scarcely now be held back. In the long run, while greatly blessing a United Australia, we may feel confident also that it will strengthen a United Empire.

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Hull Daily Mail—

November 14*th*, 1889.

THE desire for National Federation is spreading. As our readers are aware, Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, has recently taken energetic action with a view to bring about some scheme of federation for the Australian Colonies, a proposal which finds much favour in this country. Now it seems probable that the example set by Australia will be followed by the Central American Republics. A Paris correspondent, writing on the subject, says:—"The report that the Republics of Central America were contemplating the decisive step of uniting together into one nation on a federal basis appears, from what I have learnt to-day, to be well founded. A few days ago the representatives of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica assembled at San Salvador, and signed the draft of a treaty of union." Thus it is evident that the feeling in favour of the principle of federation is extending and developing. Nor is this surprising, for it is simply a practical recognition of the indisputable fact that union is strength, as opposed to division and weakness. Separate States and Provinces feel that so long as they are divided from each other they are weak and defenceless, and liable to become a prey to the attacks of an enemy; but federated together they become powerful enough to protect themselves and resist any assault that may be made upon them. Singly they are too weak to make a stand against a formidable foe, to whom collectively they may bid defiance. Could anything more eloquently or forcibly condemn the separatist policy now being advocated by the Irish Parnellites and the English Radicals? In this voluntary action of independent States we read the strongest disapproval of the policy of disintegration and separation that underlies the cry for Home Rule. Other countries, which are acting from conviction and experience, are anxious to secure the blessings and advantages of a system which the Irish party and their English Radical allies are endeavouring to destroy. The former already possess Home Rule, but they recognize the value of unity and federation, the advantages of which they are endeavouring to secure. The advocates of Home Rule and separation already possess national unity, which they are endeavouring to destroy. On the one hand we have those who are able to speak and act from experience striving to secure unity and federation; on the other, we have the champions of Home Rule seeking to introduce, so far as this country is concerned, a new and crude system, which, although novel to us, has been tried elsewhere and has failed.

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Hull Daily Mail—*continued.*

Surely under such circumstances it requires no words of ours to point out which is the best course for Englishmen to pursue. It is clearly their duty, both as patriots and politicians, to do their utmost to maintain unimpaired the unity and integrity of the Empire, and to encourage the important principle of Imperial Federation, which appears to be making such steady progress amongst the most intelligent communities of the world, rather than to favour a policy of dismemberment and separation.

The Capitalist—

November 16*th*, 1889.

Sir Henry Parkes' despatch to Mr. Gillies, which surprised the public last week, is an able State paper without doubt. The subject is highly important, and must be dealt with as soon as possible. The reason for delay is to decide upon the manner in which action is to be taken. General Edwards has been commissioned to deal with the subject of Australian military defence, and in pursuing his duties under the commission he arrives at the conclusion that a system of defence which dealt with each of the seven or eight Australasian Colonies as separate units must be tainted with an incurable defect of weakness. He therefore strongly recommends united or federal action at least for the five continental colonies, if not for the other two or three insular ones. There has probably been some intercolonial correspondence resulting from General Edwards' recommendations. The advantages of federation are so obvious to the meanest capacity, when directed to the subject of military defence, that it is quite impossible for any single colony to stand out or to set up a scheme of isolation from its neighbours. To us here at Home it would seem that nothing could be more simple than to bring the subject under the notice of the Federal Council which already exists, and there have it deliberately licked into working shape with all speed possible. Some such course of action must have suggested itself to Mr. Gillies, the Victorian Premier, and he seeks the co-operation of Sir Henry Parkes, the leader of the New South Wales ministry. Thereupon comes out Sir Henry's manifesto of October 30. He will have none of the Federal Council. He has re-examined the Act, and decides that the Council possesses no power adequate to the occasion. What is

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The Capitalist—*continued.*

wanted is to constitute, direct, and control an united Australian army, and the Council has no power or authority to do any one of these things. The Act under which the Federal Council exists includes "general defence" amongst the matters with which the Council can deal; but Sir Henry argues that these two words are included in a long list of secondary matters, and it would be a very strained interpretation to use them as a definition of legal authority to deal with a matter of the first importance in the exercise of national power.

The Federal Council Act is an Imperial measure passed in the session of 1885 for the purpose of assisting the colonies to deal with matters of common Australian interest, and legalising the proceedings of such a body. Wherever united action was deemed desirable here was a machinery which it was provided should not interfere with the management of their internal affairs by the Legislatures of the respective colonies. The Act provided for the constitution of the Council by representatives of such of the colonies as should pass the requisite legislative measures accepting the terms of the Federal Council Act. After this agreement the Council can legislate for the colonies that have assumed membership. Her Majesty's prerogative is reserved in all cases, but subject to that the Council can exercise legislative authority on the question of general defences, among other things, if referred to the Council by the Legislatures of any two or more colonies. As soon as this Imperial Act was passed, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, and Fiji brought the same into operation in their respective territories, but New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand stood out, and still decline to recognize the advantages of the Council. Nevertheless, the Council has passed useful measures, such as authorizing civil process throughout the consenting colonies in common, and enforcing the judgments of Civil Courts in common. Very much could be done by this Council in the direction indicated by General Edwards, but it is hardly possible to deal with the subject of military defence independently and without the concurrence of the Mother Country. Sir Henry himself can see that the scattered and unconnected military works and forces of the colonies would acquire additional value by a unity of command, but he insists that the Governments of the several colonies could not act in combination, nor could they act independently of each other, and the Federal Council has no executive power to act at all. This being so, it seems but natural that all should turn to Imperial

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The Capitalist—*continued.*

headquarters for leadership. But Sir Henry will have none of that. The colonies, in his idea, would never tolerate the interference of the Imperial Executive with the movements of an Australian army. To meet all the difficulties of the position, Sir Henry calls for a different kind of federation from that provided by the Council. He proposes a Dominion, after the pattern of Canada, modified by a draft on the rich stores of political wisdom collected by the framers of the Constitution of the United States. By this ambitious plan the colonies would become provinces with locally-elected Governors. There would be an Australian Dominion Parliament and Privy Council, with a single Governor-General as a link between the Federation and the United Kingdom. The scheme is to raise the colonies to a higher level of national life, and we may suppose, incidentally will evolve a system of national defence, as well as many other good things. This grand manifesto burst upon the politicians of the Empire like a peel of thunder from a clear sky. Mr. Gillies, who appears to be a plain and plodding man, was considerably astonished no doubt, and according to last reports adheres to his previous view that the pathway to new arrangements lies through the Federal Council as it exists. The declaration of Sir Henry Parkes is a grand stroke of personal ambition for a larger leadership. The Federal Council is too paltry. The political magician of Sydney must have a grand transformation scene, with Sir Henry himself raised from the level of Premier of the Premier Colony, scorning to be a local Governor, and receiving the homage of Australasia as First Minister of the Crown in the Australian Dominion Parliament.

Altrincham Guardian—

November 16th, 1889.

THE letter of Sir Henry Parkes, the New South Wales Premier, has now been before the public of this country for some days, and has excited no small amount of comment, adverse and otherwise, but principally the latter. In all great matters of this kind there is sure to be a considerable amount of criticism forthcoming, and it is best that it should be so. Criticism is the fire through which all new proposals of importance should pass, and if they cannot pass the ordeal they are better dropped. It must be confessed that the proposals of Sir Henry Parkes have come well out of the criticism that has greeted them. In New South Wales

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Altrincham Guardian—*continued.*

there is ample evidence of a very strong and rapidly-growing feeling in favour of Australian Federation. So far as the public have been consulted there, the decision seems to be in favour of it, and the majority of opinions expressed here is undoubtedly in the same direction. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the Federation movement can be opposed in this country. If the Continent of Australia is desirous of combining in one compact whole, no one in this country will seriously oppose the step. Such a policy would be far more likely to receive favourable than unfavourable consideration from a British Government. Of one thing we may be pretty confident: if Australia made up its mind to have Federation, England neither could, would, nor ought to prevent it. The severest criticism ventured upon here appears to be directed against the consistency of Sir Henry Parkes and of New South Wales. It is pointed out by some writers that Sir Henry has some urgent reason for introducing the question of Federation, that previously he has shown his aversion to the principle by opposing the Federal Council scheme, in which New South Wales has all along declined to join. The answer of Sir Henry to this charge appears to us to be perfectly satisfactory. He characterizes the Federal Council as a sham, a make-believe, and in this charge he seems to be right. The Council is a mere consultative body, having no legislative or executive powers. Such a Council does not meet Sir Henry's views of the requirements of Australia. What he desires to see established is an Australian House of Commons and its Senate. He advocates the appointment of a Governor-General, a Privy Council, and a Court of Appeal. In fact, he would convert the struggling Governments of Australia into a second Dominion of Canada. This is a large, bold, and comprehensive scheme as opposed to the present tinkering method. The question may have forced itself upon Sir Henry's mind as the result of a fear for the safety of the Australian Colonies in the event of a great war, but that does not alter the merits of the case; it simply renders action more urgent. All things considered, the movement to join the Australian Colonies in a Federation appears to be progressing fairly well. Opinion is being matured, and is distinctly in favour of it both here and in the directly-interested regions. Many difficulties will require to be overcome, jealousies will have to be removed; but these obstacles have been surmounted before, and there is no reason why they should be permitted to block the road now.

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Brighton Sussex Daily News—

November 18th, 1889.

A LARGELY supported meeting was held at the Egyptian Hall on Friday to discuss the question of Imperial Federation, but they do not appear to have advanced the elucidation of that shadowy problem to any substantial extent. An immense deal of fervid patriotism was talked, and many glowing references were made to the glory and greatness of the Empire, but as for any suggestion of a practical scheme for working the complicated machinery it is proposed to call into existence, that was perhaps naturally considered to lie beyond the scope of the occasion. Lord Rosebery addressed a series of admirably selected observations to the conclave, as is his wont at all such gatherings, and included in his oration not only a series of most happy phrases on the subject of Imperial politics, but a most felicitous parallel drawn from the constitution of the Amphictyonic Council and its influence on the destinies of Greece. These are exactly the conventional materials for an Imperial Federation speech, which is invariably rife with majestic periods, but singularly deficient in solid suggestion. Lord Rosebery may be considered the greatest authority on Imperial Federation, as it is a subject which he has in a great measure made his speciality, and he is the man, if anyone is, to enlighten us on what the phrase is intended to convey and what is the working shape into which this visionary idea can possibly be embodied. Unfortunately, in reading the speeches of that ardent Federationist, one is left just as much in the dark as before. Imperial Federation looms as a sort of phantasmagorial outline through a fog of hazy rhetoric and obscuring sentiment, but no efforts of platform speakers and Egyptian Hall meetings enable us to have a clearer view of its shape. Historical parallels are valueless and delusive, while poetical allusions to our national glory are inane and irrelevant. Lord Rosebery put it very truly when he said that they were both viewed with suspicion by the commercial mind. At the same time, he inaugurated his speech by assuring the audience that Federation was not a question of poetry and imagination, but a question of solid fact. That it is intended to be so, we make no manner of doubt, but that the solidity of the foundation has as yet been laid seems to be open to decisive refutation. All that Lord Rosebery could point to in that direction was the Colonial Conference of 1888–89, which he declares to be the germ of Federation, and he proceeded to contend that it was through periodical conferences of the best available men that the idea was practically to be worked out. But the federative

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Brighton Sussex Daily News—*continued.*

enthusiasts at the Egyptian Hall must have been content with very little if they were satisfied with so slender and inorganic a suggestion as this. The idea is far too shapeless to escape the "suspicion of the commercial mind," for it may reasonably be asked, what is to be the conformation of these conferences, in what respect are they to be representative, what are to be the limits of their sphere of deliberation, and how are they to alleviate a conceivable deadlock between the conflicting interests of the Colonies and the mother country? All these points must meet with a satisfactory answer before the permanent establishment of these Conferences can fall within the range of practical politics, and yet, failing these Conferences, Lord Rosebery declares Imperial Federation to be an impossible dream. We are disposed to agree that it is a dream anyhow; but what is not an impossible dream is what Sir Henry Parkes enforced upon his constituents in New South Wales the other day, and that is Intercolonial Federation. It is high time that the Colonies of Australia, instead of being separated by petty rivalries and jealousies, should be banded into one harmonious whole. When that has been done it will be time enough to think of what the relations of federated Australia are to be with the home country, but federation must first take place in the limb before it is extended to the body.

Birmingham Post—

November 19th, 1889.

THE question of granting a new Constitution to Western Australia is one which occupied considerable attention both at the Colonial Office and in Parliament during the last session. It was left unsettled, and, probably considering the importance of the issues involved, and the comparatively small amount of public attention given to it in this country, it is well that it should have been left over for thorough discussion after fuller consideration. In the Australian Colonies themselves there is no want of interest on the subject. Occasion has, in fact, been taken for the enunciation of opinions as to the right of the existing colonies to interfere in a settlement, which would, if they carried it into effect, very materially affect the Imperial jurisdiction over the whole of what it has become the fashion to call the Australian Continent. Such questions as Imperial federation and national independence have been discussed, not only by

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individual members of the Colonial Legislatures, but by the responsible Ministers of the several colonies. It is evident that when the Western Australia question is reopened, as it must be in the next session of Parliament, it must be approached with a sense of its great importance, and with a due regard to the state of colonial feeling as well as to considerations of Imperial duty and policy. The case is divided into two parts, of which the one that has nominally to be dealt with is comparatively simple, or would be so if it were not subject to complications as to future intercolonial policy. The present conditions are these:—Western Australia comprises a territory measuring 1,280 miles from north to south, and 800 miles from east to west. It contains 1,060,000 square miles, and is thus nearly nine times as large as the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. The total population is only about 42,500, or considerably less than that of the Local Board district of Aston Manor. This handful of people are asking for the grant of a Constitution which will give them responsible self-government, make them practically independent, and place in their hands the disposal of the lands of the vast country and the settlement of the conditions under which for the future it shall be populated and settled. At present Western Australia is a Government colony—that is to say, that, with a considerable admixture of the representative element in the administration of its local affairs, such broader questions as its intercolonial relations, the disposition of its lands, and the regulation of immigration are practically under the control of the Imperial Government. In reality, this only means that the territory is held in hand until the population has sufficiently increased to justify the Imperial Government in entrusting it with the control of so vast a territory. The question as to whether that time has now arrived could hardly be answered in the affirmative, if it could be considered apart from wider questions of colonial policy. It is true that about thirty years ago a Constitution like that now applied for was granted to Queensland, although its population at that time was not more than 30,000. The area of Queensland, however, was not much more than half that of West Australia. It was immediately contiguous to New South Wales, the most important of the Australian Colonies, and was therefore certain very speedily to share in the rapid development which was taking place on the eastern coast of the continent.

It was clearly a question which required consideration whether or not the time had arrived when the absolute control over lands so extensive

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Birmingham Post—*continued.*

should be transferred from the hands of the Imperial Government into those of the few thousands of people who live upon but cannot be said to populate them. It must be remembered that since the last Constitution was granted questions of great importance as to immigration and the disposal of land have arisen which cannot but affect the future policy of the country. On the whole, the Colonial Department at Home arrived at the decision that the demand for enfranchisement had been practically sustained, and they submitted to Parliament a Bill for carrying it into effect. Parliament, however, was not satisfied with the case made out, and the Bill was not passed. The main question raised was as to the future control and disposition of the land, and it was maintained that the present conditions did not justify such a treatment of the great area of Western Australia as was proposed by the measure. This view of the case aroused considerable manifestations of feeling, not only in the particular colony affected, but in other parts of Australia. To listen to some of the statements made it might be supposed that the Imperial Parliament existed for no higher purpose than to meekly register and give formal effect to the decisions of the various colonies. To some extent this is the case with regard to the self-governing colonies; but that is only a reason why great care should be exercised before the final step is taken with regard to a new community. But, all this wild talk notwithstanding, it was recognized that there was some force in the objection that the territory affected was too extensive to be entrusted to the comparatively few people who ask for its management. Proposals have therefore been submitted by the colonists for a division of the area. There are now under consideration two suggestions of this kind. One is to draw a line from east to west, dividing the territory into two almost equal parts, and to give a Constitution to the southern portion. The other is to make the dividing line run from north to south so as to give only about one-third of the country to the newly-constituted colony. Under either plan the suggested colony would include the portion of the territory which is most thickly populated. The latter proposal, although it would give the smaller area, would leave to the new colony the whole of the western coast, and so would probably furnish the best conditions for industrial growth and consequent expansion both of population and of material progress. It may be observed that the very fact that these modified schemes are propounded is in some degree an admission of the force of the contention that the Imperial Government has a right to decide upon the fate of the

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Birmingham Post—*continued.*

territory which is at present held in its name. Something has been said in the colony about resistance to the idea that the unsettled lands belong to the people of the United Kingdom to be used for their own purposes. Such a resistance would be entirely superfluous, for no such idea is entertained. The Imperial Government holds the territory in trust, not for itself, but for the future occupiers, and is only interested in securing that the prospects of the colony are not imperilled by too hasty present legislation.

So far as the actual colony itself is concerned, we may suppose that the question will be settled on the lines of one of the compromises that have been proposed. That, however, does not exhaust the questions which have been raised by the other Australian Colonies, and especially by New South Wales. These are important, not only on account of their immediate object, but on account of their ulterior principles which they are intended to illustrate. In the first place, these colonies claim to have a voice not only in the settlement of the Western Colonial Constitution, but in the policy which is to be pursued with regard to that part of the territory which would not be included in its operation. This is, indeed, a claim to assume the position now held by the Imperial Government. It is not surprising that the existing colonies in Australia should desire that all future constitutions established on the continent should be based upon the same broad lines of responsible representative self-government as those on which their own are framed. But they go further than this. In the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales a petition to the Queen was adopted at the instance of the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Parkes. After asking for the adoption of the proposed Constitution for Western Australia, the petition urges "that any and every part of the territory of Western Australia not included in the provisions of the new Constitution shall henceforth be reserved for and as soon as possible be brought under a form of government similar to that of the other colonies, and shall be held exclusively for the purposes of Australian settlement and colonization by persons from the other colonies and from Great Britain and Ireland." This request is in itself remarkable, but it is made more so by the motives which were plainly enough set forth in the debate in the Legislature, by which it was unanimously adopted. One of these was the fear of a twofold danger attending immigration. The colonists fear the importation of convicts and paupers, and they fear an inroad of Chinese labour. As to the introduction of convicts, it might be well assumed that the question

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had been finally and fully settled. England has long since acknowledged that she has no moral right to evade her own responsibilities with regard to her dangerous classes by transferring them to her colonial possessions. With regard to pauper emigration the line may not be so distinctly drawn, but a similar principle is generally admitted. As for assisted emigration, any difference of opinion which may arise can be and will be settled with a due regard to the wishes of the colonists themselves. The other branch of the immigration question is that which refers to the possible introduction of Chinese labour. This has already caused serious difficulty, and the colonists are anxious that where there is no responsible Government existing the wishes of the people generally throughout the continent should be consulted. These difficulties as to the regulations of immigrants can certainly be settled to the satisfaction of the colonists, although from their point of view they would be most completely met when the whole country is covered by entirely self-governing communities. Such a condition would make possible some federal action on the part of all the colonies. And this question of federation leads to what must be called the most serious part of the colonial policy as indicated, or indeed plainly stated, in the debate in the Legislature of New South Wales, by Ministerialists and Opposition speakers alike. The granting of the West Australian Constitution was advocated not only for the sake of the colony affected, but because such a step would make possible a scheme of Australian Federation, and that with a view to future entire independence. There was no mistake or hesitation on this point; the desire was openly and constantly affirmed. No doubt its discussion at the present time is premature. When Australia is sufficiently advanced in population and other matters, if the same wish for separation from the mother country exists, it will have to be met in a liberal spirit. That the question is raised in this untimely manner is evidently to be partly accounted for by a desire to protest against the proposal for what is vaguely called Imperial Federation—a proposal which, though it is innocent of practical suggestion or possibility of practical result, has not a little alarmed most of our important colonies. Their reply to this idle and visionary scheme is that instead of joining a nominal federation where equality of representation would be impossible, they prefer to look forward to a more limited federation of their own by which their independent national existence would be secured. It would seem, then, that the enthusiasts who are carried away by a phrase, the meaning of which they

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cannot define, may probably do mischief by forcing on discussions which, for the present at least, it would be wise and patriotic to postpone. Next session will probably see the issue of the desired Constitution to the limited area now proposed, and with it the indefinite adjournment of the wider debate so prematurely raised.

Glasgow Mail—

November 19th, 1889.

THE full text of the Hon. Duncan Gillies' reply to Sir Henry Parkes' recent circular letter on the question of Australian Federation has been received. At the outset it discloses the fact that the vital matter at issue has been the subject of confidential communications between Sir Henry Parkes and his brother Premiers for months past. There is, of course, nothing very remarkable about this fact in itself, because the federation question is one that must of necessity occupy a good deal of the attention of Australian statesmen. But it is always interesting to learn what is going on behind the scenes, and it is not unimportant to note that the question of national defences has simply been the means of bringing to the surface a serious practical discussion already in progress between the representatives of the different colonies. Mr. Gillies refers to a letter of his own, dated August 12th, and marked "confidential." This was a reply to two letters from Sir Henry Parkes on the subject of federation. Presumably, Sir Henry must have addressed similar communications to the Premiers of the other colonies. Mr. Gillies understood his proposals in the sense in which they have since been explained to all the world—as meaning the creation of a Federal Parliament composed of two Houses, with an executive Federal Government constitutionally responsible thereto, the Crown being represented by a Governor-General, and the whole scheme following upon the lines of the Canadian Constitution. His reply may be summed up by saying that it was simply an invitation to New South Wales to join with her sister-colonies in endeavouring to attain the desired goal through the agency of the existing Federal Council, with which New South Wales has hitherto refused to have anything to do. He pointed out that steps are being taken to enlarge the composition of the Federal Council, and to make it more representative, and urged strongly the advantages that might be gained if the parent colony would abandon her present position of isolation. He even tried the effect of a

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Glasgow Mail—*continued.*

little personal blandishment upon Sir Henry Parkes. But the "Grand Old Man of New South Wales" was not moved. As his circular letter showed, he is still as hostile as ever to the existing Council, which he treats rather as a stumbling-block than as a stepping-stone towards the grand object of federation. The positions taken up by himself on the one hand, and by the Victorian Premier on the other, are both now revealed to the public. Mr. Gillies adheres substantially to the opinions expressed in his private letter. Nevertheless he is perfectly willing that the weighty issues raised by Sir Henry Parkes should be fully and openly discussed. Instead of acceding to Sir Henry Parkes' suggestion as to the calling together of a National Convention, however, he once more makes a stand in favour of utilizing the machinery of the Federal Council. He suggests that the representatives of the various colonies in the Federal Council should meet Sir Henry Parkes and other representatives of New South Wales to discuss, and, if necessary, to advise and report upon an adequate scheme of Federal Government. By this method of procedure, he urges, the Colonial Parliaments would be left quite unfettered, which would not be the case supposing that by sending representatives to a National Convention they committed themselves definitely to the position that the time is ripe for establishing a Federal Parliament. Moreover, by this plan, there would be no room left for the suspicion that the members of the Federal Council were being discredited or thrust aside in the determination of this important question. Mr. Gillies proceeds to "show cause" why New South Wales should join with the other colonies in utilizing the Federal Council. The question of national defence, he urges, is one that must be solved, whatever is or is not done in the matter of federation. Should Federal Government be agreed to, it would take four or five years to bring it into effect; but, supposing no agreement were arrived at, he asks whether the colonies are to remain "a concourse of disintegrated atoms," so far as defence is concerned, and whether the national interests of Australia are thus to be sacrificed merely because of a reluctance on the part of the colonists to subordinate individual preferences to the common good. Sir Henry Parkes maintains that the Federal Council Act does not provide sufficient powers for the "creation, direction, mobilization, and executive control of a great army for the defence of the whole of Australia." Mr. Gillies frankly admits the fact. But he says that no such army is wanted. The scheme under contemplation is much more modest. It simply involves the

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Glasgow Mail—*continued.*

organisation of the forces in each colony, so that they shall be placed under proper direction and control, and be made available for service in any part of the Continent outside their own boundaries. For this purpose Mr. Gillies holds that the Federal Council has quite sufficient powers. Sir Henry Parkes objected that the Council has no executive authority to enforce its decrees. Mr. Gillies replies that no executive authority is necessary, and that the Council can meet all practical requirements by legislating, with the consent of the colonies, which must, of course, be obtained beforehand. But what if New South Wales does not consent? Then the whole project would fall through, or, at all events, it would be maimed, and the Federal Council would be powerless to make it complete. Mr. Gillies sees the difficulty, and exerts his strongest arguments to induce New South Wales to fall in line with the other colonies. His arguments, however, only tend to make it clear that New South Wales holds a trump card of the situation, and it is not in human nature to expect that she will give it up lightly. After all, the question in dispute is not as to the end but only as to the means whereby that end is to be attained. Australian Federation is bound to come. Mr. Gillies wants to reach it through the Federal Council. Sir Henry Parkes has no faith in that experimental institution; he would clear the Board and start afresh by means of his proposed National Convention. And by Mr. Gillies' own admission he has strong arguments on his side. The Victorian Premier is forced to confess that the work of national defence could be better accomplished by a Federal Government than by the Federal Council. But the problem is one which the colonists will have to mark out for themselves. Whether New South Wales takes the lead, or whether she chooses to follow in the wake of her sister-colonies, will not alter the ultimate result—a result which we in the mother-country shall await with interest and with perfect confidence in the loyalty and goodwill of our Australian fellow-subjects.

Leeds Mercury—

November 19th, 1889.

THE despatch, of which we publish the text this morning, from the Premier of Victoria in reply to Sir Henry Parkes' communication on the subject of Australian Federation, brings into clear relief the difference between the points of view of these two eminent Australian politicians. Sir Henry Parkes, it is evident, is much more dominated than the Hon.

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Leeds Mercury—*continued.*

Duncan Gillies at present can be said to be by the idea of a united Australia. The chief concern of the Premier of Victoria is to discover with the least possible delay some practical and efficient method of organising concerted measures for Australian defence. He maintains that although a Federal Government, clothed with the authority of a Federal Parliament, such as Sir Henry Parkes has in view, "could do much more, and do it much better" than the existing Federal Council; the latter body nevertheless could do all that is at present required for defensive purposes, and could do it with the least delay. In Mr. Gillies' view it is only necessary for the Legislatures of all the colonies to invite the Federal Council to legislate upon the subject of the defences, and it could without difficulty make all the provision requisite for joint action for the object in view. It is true, as he acknowledges, that there would be no coercive authority behind Acts passed by the existing Federal Council, but the assumption of the whole situation is that every Australian Colony is anxious to act unitedly in the matter of defence. If that assumption is right enabling Acts are all that are required. If it is wrong, "then we are idling our time in considering the matter." There is, no doubt, a great deal of practical sense in Mr. Gillies' contention, and it may probably be assumed that he expresses the prevailing feeling of the great colony of which he is Prime Minister. If so, Australian Federation is not so near as after Sir Henry Parkes' energetic despatch many people here have been inclined to believe. But in any case it can hardly be very far distant, and its approach, whether more or less rapid will be viewed with sympathetic interest by wise politicians at home.

The Globe—

November 19th, 1889.

THE correspondence now taking place between the several Australian Governments is of great pith and moment by reason of its bearing on the question of Imperial Federation. All who have given thought to that grand project are in agreement that the first step towards its realisation must be Colonial Federation. In the case of British North America, that part of the problem has already received practical solution by the creation of the Canadian Dominion. But when we turn to other parts of the outlying Empire, the only satisfactory sign is the growth of local sentiment in favour of closer connection for defensive purposes. This is

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The Globe—*continued.*

the central subject of the correspondence between Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, and Mr. Duncan Gillies, who fills the same post in Victoria. They are agreed that it is highly desirable to formulate a scheme for intercolonial defence, but beyond that somewhat abstract proposition their views are more or less in conflict. Sir Henry Parkes considers that the best course would be to submit the question to a Convention specially summoned for the purpose. But the Victorian Premier objects, *in limine*, to this proposal, his idea being that the present Federal Council would suffice if strengthened by additional representatives. The point thus raised may seem somewhat small to dispute about, but it really covers a very important issue. The Convention proposed by New South Wales would consider the whole question of Australian Federation, political and economical as well as military, whereas the Federal Council would have no power to go beyond the discussion of federated defence. There is the further side-issue that New South Wales has no representative at present in the Federal Council, having declined to join it from the first, and, judging from Sir Henry Parkes' tone, this disinclination is as strong as ever. Queensland, by the mouth of her Colonial Secretary, sides with Victoria in this preliminary controversy, and it may be anticipated that the other colonies which have sent delegates to the Federal Council will take the same view.

It is deeply to be regretted that such a serious stumbling-block should have presented itself at the very threshold. For outsiders to attempt to judge between the disputants would savour of impertinence; there are wheels within wheels in colonial politics, whose movements only experts trained on the spot can comprehend. When the average Englishman thinks of Australia, he conceives it as a land split up into several settlements for the sake of administrative convenience, but pervaded by the same sentiments and the same aspirations. This is by no means a correct conception; there are long standing feuds and deeply ingrained jealousies between several of the colonies, notably in the case of New South Wales and Victoria. Each suspects its neighbour of meditating how to get the upper hand in commerce, while even such an apparently off-question as closer union for defence gives rise to feelings of disquietude. It is not to be believed, nevertheless, that Australian statesmanship will prove unable to grapple with all difficulties in solving the military problem. The plain-spoken report of General Edwards on the dangers of the present chaotic system of defence has created general alarm, and popular

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The Globe—*continued.*

judgment would assuredly condemn any Government that stood in the way of reform. The fairest way of settling this initial dispute would be, apparently, to submit the question of Convention or Federal Council to the several Legislatures, the opinion of the majority to prevail. But we doubt whether New South Wales would accept this simple method without considerable demur, in presence of the likelihood that she would find herself outvoted.

There is much strength and cogency in Mr. Gillies' argument that the question of military defence should be first taken by itself. Were it mixed upon with the larger problem of Colonial Federation, years would elapse, he believes, before the united forces of the colonies were available for employment at any threatened place. And since considerable delay would necessarily be involved in assembling a Convention, as that could not be done until the several Parliaments had considered the matter, a *prima facie* case is made out for relegating the business to the Federal Council. The world is at peace just now, and the British temple of Janus has its gates shut for once in a way. But it would require consummate boldness to predict any prolonged continuance of this state of things. Nowadays, the evolution of events marches very quickly; an astonished world has just seen an apparently stable Empire puffed away like thistledown by the first breath of revolution. It behoves the Australian Colonies, therefore, to guard themselves against danger from without. They could, of course, always rely upon the assistance of the mother country to the utmost extent it was within her power to give. But that power might be circumscribed by circumstances; it is easy to imagine a situation in which John Bull would find his resources very fully employed elsewhere. Australia must, therefore, be prepared to take her own part, and we feel assured that there would be no lack of spirit in her population to beat back any foe that attempted to raid her ports. But patriotic spirit, unless backed by effective forces, might fail to act with the necessary promptitude, and when too late our cousins would have to regret the lack of unity which brought about the sacking of Sydney, or the destruction of Melbourne, Adelaide, or Brisbane. Australia is rich, public spirited, and full of the vigour and courage of youth. Nowhere in the world can be found finer specimens of the English race. But all these advantages would count for little were her wide stretching coasts assailed by an enterprising enemy before her system of defence was rendered efficient.

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St. James' Gazette—

November 19th, 1889.

HAVING recently appeared in the entirely new character of an enthusiast for Imperial Federation, Sir Henry Parkes has already got a chance of proving his hitherto unsuspected zeal. In a public despatch addressed to him on Wednesday last, the Hon. Duncan Gillies points out that one, and perhaps the most important, of the objects and results of Imperial Federation is to make arrangements for common military action amongst the various colonies of Australia. Before any scheme of Federal Government could be drawn up and ratified, it is certain that several years would be spent in deliberations and negotiations. But there is no reason why the military questions should not be decided at once. There is an institution called the Federal Council, which, though it would be inefficient for the work of Constitution-making, and though it possesses no executive authority, would be admirably qualified to draft a scheme of common military defence. Let the Federal Council, with the consent of all the colonies, present such a scheme to the different Parliaments; and let it be adopted by them, and, if necessary, be modified in detail. That being done, Australia would already have advanced a long way towards federation; and meantime, the common interests of all Australia would be safe-guarded by a common and mobilizable army.

Evening News—

November 20th, 1889.

WE are not surprised to learn that progressive Victoria declines to give its approval to the federation scheme of the New South Wales Prime Minister. His plan failed exactly for the reason we anticipated. The other colonies in Australasia evidently regard it as an attempt to override institutions already existing, better adapted to the scientific development of the object aimed at. It is not that Victoria is less alive to the advantages, not to say the necessities, of federation than is Sir Henry Parkes, but Victoria argues that a framework has already been put together, well fitted to produce the very result Sir Henry desires, but that it is Sir Henry himself who has rendered that framework useless by declining to use it. It is rather hard, argue the other colonies, that the very man who has rendered the scheme they subscribed to abortive, should now bring forward an alternative plan, in their opinion far less practical, to bring about the same result.

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Evening News—*continued.*

When we first commented on the circular letter of the Prime Minister of New South Wales, we remarked that it would awaken rivalries and heartburnings that would otherwise not be apparent. To the other colonies of Australia the action of the senior colony could not fail, for the reason we have stated, to have the appearance of laying down the law. It did, in fact, possess that very character of aggression which was sufficient to ensure its rejection. We are bound to add, however, that the opposition it has met with bears no appearance of ill-humour. On the contrary, it is impossible to read the interesting reply of the Premier of Victoria, Mr. Duncan Gillies, without being struck by the courtesy and friendliness of its tone, as much as by the soundness of its arguments. Mr. Gillies agrees with Sir Henry Parkes that the aim he has in view is a desirable aim, but that there are more practicable means of carrying it into effect than those suggested by his correspondent. Why, he asks in so many words, should not New South Wales send representatives to the existing Federal Council? The members of that Council are representative men of the other colonies, and if they were to confer with Sir Henry Parkes himself and other representatives of his colony, their joint wisdom would speedily devise and draw up a scheme for the carrying out of a well-constructed measure of federation. In this way not only would much time be saved, but there would be the certainty that the measure would be canvassed by men whose names would be a guarantee that the document to which they should attach their names would be favourably considered by the colonies they severally represented. It is stated that Queensland, through her Colonial Secretary, Mr. Morehead, has given her adhesion to the principles of the Victorian despatch, and it may be calculated that the other colonies will not be behindhand.

How Sir Henry Parkes may regard this reply, and in what spirit he may take it, can only be a matter of conjecture. But if he be the statesman his friends represent him to be, and if his great aim is the federation of the Australian Colonies, and not merely the glorification of New South Wales, he will respond favourably to the despatch of Mr. Gillies. It would be profitless to carry the subject further until we receive his reply. We hope he will give to it a patient and passionless consideration. Federation is desired, in the first place, to carry out, on a sound footing, the measures planned by General Edwards for the defence of the several colonies. In their common interest that measure should not be long

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Evening News—*continued.*

delayed. But if the differences of opinion between Sir Henry Parkes on the one side, and Mr. Gillies and Mr. Morehead on the other, are to lead to a war of words, resulting in no conclusion, the scheme of the defence of the colonies may be postponed to the Greek kalends.

Birmingham Gazette—

November 20th, 1889.

THERE are increasing indications that the time is not very far distant when we shall see a mighty change in the forms of government on the Australian Continent. The reply addressed by the Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Premier of Victoria, to the letter of Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, expresses a strong doubt as to the possibility of Australian Federation at the present time, but he nevertheless enters most warmly into the proposal that a conference shall be held at which the whole question may be fully discussed. It is necessary in order to explain the precise position of matters that we should go back for a few months upon the history of the federation movement. General Edwards, who was sent to Australia to examine and report upon its means of defence, reported in favour of the federal action of Australian troops. Necessarily the Australian force is a small one; necessarily its smallness is aggravated by the division of Australia into four distinct colonies, each with its own Government. Yet for defensive purposes their interests are identical, and the necessity for having the defences upon a more sound basis has been recognized of late years more fully than it used to be. When the report of General Edwards was published, Mr. Gillies wrote to Sir Henry Parkes suggesting that the provisions of the Federal Councils Act might be employed to carry out the General's recommendations. The Act in question was passed in 1885, and constituted a Federal Council "for the purpose of dealing with such matters of common Australasian interest, in respect to which united action is desirable, as can be dealt with without unduly interfering with the management of the internal affairs of the several colonies by their respective Legislatures." Sir Henry Parkes in his reply to Mr. Gillies' letter argued that the Federal Council had no executive power to act at all. But he proceeded to point out that this question of defences brought the colonies face to face "with the imperative necessity, the Federal Government." "In the nature of our onward

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Birmingham Gazette—*continued.*

progress," he said "it must come—a year or two later possibly—but in any case soon I hope." He expressed the desire of his own colony to "avoid subordinate questions coloured by party feelings or collateral issues." The time in his opinion was ripe for consolidating the Australias into one, and he suggested the Dominion of Canada as a model upon which to form the new constitution. He pleaded for such a change to meet the necessity "now pressing upon these colonies to rise to a higher level of national life which would give them a larger space before the eyes of the world, and in a hundred ways promote their united power and prosperity."

We have remarked that while Mr. Gillies says he has cause for grave doubts as to the success of this movement for the present, there are no reasons of which he is aware which should stand in the way of such a serious and important proposal being fully considered in all its aspects. The colonies represented by these two distinguished statesmen—Victoria and New South Wales—embrace a population of two millions—that is almost two-thirds of the entire population of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. If we are justified in inferring from the earnest tone of their letters that they are thoroughly sincere in their desire for "a higher level of national life," the obstacles in the way of its realization cannot be insuperable. There is a splendid future before Australia, and, far though it is from the ordinary spheres of European or American influence, it cannot on that account remain passive to all considerations of national solidarity. True, the population is at present a mere speck upon the broad surface of the continent, but it will increase, and that rapidly. Will it be more likely to prosper split up as it is just now than if it were bound together by powerful ties of Federal Government? We cannot think so. Mr. Gillies urges that whatever decision may be come to on the greater question, there is still the other question which must be solved—viz., "to determine the steps to be taken now which will enable Australia to unite her forces in any emergency, and therefore make her defences effective." In this matter it seems to us the less includes the greater. Although it may be found necessary to come to some such arrangement as Mr. Gillies proposes with regard to Australian defence, the arrangement cannot be more than provisional. Beyond the fact that they owe allegiance to a common Sovereign, and speak a common language, there is hardly a closer connection between the colonies of Australia than between any similar number of the States of Europe. Until they are

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Birmingham Gazette—*continued.*

drawn into closer union than this common defensive action will scarcely be possible. There is rivalry between the colonies on many points, and they will never be defensively powerful until that rivalry is neutralised by a common interest in some visible form of government. In setting out his own scheme Mr. Gillies says it "simply enables the colonies of Australia to do what they cannot do now, namely, act together for defensive purposes." But he adds "that a Federal Government clothed with the authority of a Federal Parliament could do much more, and do it much better, goes without saying."

There are, no doubt, many who will look with anxiety and suspicion upon this Colonial movement, and dread its consequences. If the colonies unite in the form suggested, it may be said, they will not rest content there. They will soon begin to discuss the advisability of throwing off the Imperial yoke, easy though it is, in order to try their fortune under an independent Republic. Well, upon that point we need not attempt to prophesy. But England has had enough Colonial experience to know that there is nothing to be gained, but everything to be lost, by attempts to curb the progressive asperations of her Colonial offshoots. Above all else we must place the interest of the colonies themselves. Where our mother tongue is spoken, and our fellow-countrymen under similar laws are fighting the battle of life manfully and honestly, there will always be inducements offered to what of surplus human energy this to thickly populated island may produce. Even if Australia were an independent Republic it would remain English to the core. But we are convinced that those who dread separation are on a false track when they raise obstacles to Colonial Federation. It is but a step in the direction of Imperial Federation. The colonies are not likely to hastily throw off the protection that the Imperial tie affords them, nor to abandon the prestige which it confers. The Dominion of Canada is strong enough to stand alone, and it has temptations enough to lean upon a nearer and scarcely less powerful Government, yet there is no widespread discontent with the rule of the Queen. Australia is far less able to declare itself independent. Therefore, in considering such a question as that discussed by Sir Henry Parkes and Mr. Gillies, Englishmen should think of it only as a Colonial matter, and if federation will advance the interests of Australia it should be supported, without pessimistic calculations as to remote future consequences. There should be no difficulty in the way of arranging a conference of the colonies—that indeed must take place to

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Birmingham Gazette—*continued.*

consider General Edwards' report—and the ample materials at their command should enable the delegates to draft a scheme of federation that will commend itself to the Australians and be cordially approved by the Imperial Government.

Glasgow Herald—

November 20th, 1889.

A FEW days ago the British public learnt from a despatch written by Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, that he had conceived a mammoth scheme of Intercolonial Federation, comprising an Australian Dominion, a great army, and other wonderful things. Some cold water is thrown upon Sir Henry's new and unexpected enthusiasm for constitution-building by the practical and common-sense reply which Mr. Duncan Gillies, the Premier of the Colony of Victoria, has sent to the despatch in question. It would almost seem as though the New South Wales proposal was intended mainly for consumption in this country, where the history of the Intercolonial Federation movement is of course but little known, and where the veteran Sir Henry Parkes enjoys a deservedly high reputation as the champion of free trade in Australia. Probably it is the rather exaggerated prominence given by the London Press recently to Sir Henry Parkes' speeches, especially on the question of Australian nationality, which has now induced the old Parliamentary hand of the Southern Hemisphere to advertise himself and his crude and visionary projects for the immediate creation of an Australian Dominion in order to meet a simple and practical demand. Indeed, Australian colonists who remember the history of the "Federal Council Act of Australasia," and the attitude of New South Wales politicians and publicists in the matter, will feel inclined to resent the effort of the New South Wales Premier to pose at this late hour as the heavy father of Intercolonial Federation. All the practical work done in connection with the latter movement would seem to have been done by Mr. James Service, Mr. Duncan Gillies, and Mr. Alfred Deakin in Victoria, and by Sir Samuel Griffith in Queensland, and done apparently in the teeth of much opposition, jealousy, and ill-will on the part of such New South Wales politicians as Sir John Robertson and Sir Henry Parkes. When one Australian digger attempts to appropriate the mining section belonging to another it is called "jumping a claim." Sir Henry

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Glasgow Herald—*continued.*

Parkes would almost seem to have been engaged in an attempt to jump Mr. Service's claim to be the real originator of Intercolonial Federation.

Mr. Duncan Gillies, in his replies of the 12th and 13th of last month, does not remind Sir Henry Parkes of the past history of the Intercolonial Federation movement. He endeavours to keep the discussion on practical lines, while admitting that the proposal submitted to him is a lofty and ambitious one. Mr. Gillies is a cool-headed and cautious Scot, who in his time has wielded the digger's pick and shovel. He professes himself content to work on from small beginnings, and he argues that the Federal Council Act of 1885 already contains the framework on which much that Sir Henry Parkes now professes to desire can be built. The Act of 1885 (48 and 49 Vic., cap. 60) was the result of several intercolonial conferences held at Sydney in order to protect and provide against certain specific dangers which five or six years ago were suffered to threaten Australian interests in the Pacific. The French convict settlements in New Caledonia, the proposal to form enormous colonies of *recidivistes*, or incorrigible criminals, in the same place, the Ferry policy of colonial expansion generally, and Prince Bismarck's supposed intentions in New Guinea and elsewhere, had all caused alarm among Australian colonists. Among the "several matters" which the Act of 1885 first gives the Council authority over are "the relations of Australasia with the islands of the Pacific, and the prevention of the influx of criminals." Although New South Wales and New Zealand took part in the conferences at Sydney, and supported the resolutions then arrived at, the introduction and passing of the Federal Council Bill excited much vague jealously, and, as it would seem, senseless alarm among all classes in the two latter colonies. In order to propitiate Sir John Robertson and Sir Henry Parkes, and to set at rest these doubts and suspicions of others, it was specially declared in the preamble of the Bill that the Council should not "unduly interfere with the management of the internal affairs of the several colonies by their respective Legislatures." The Federal Act was, in short, crippled, and the authority of the Council weakened, in order to appease the jealousy and to meet the fanciful objection of the very politicians who now complain that the Act of 1885 is not sufficiently far-reaching and ambitious to satisfy their new aspirations for dominion.

When the Federal Council held its first meeting at Hobart, in January, 1886, New South Wales, New Zealand, and South Australia refused to

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Glasgow Herald—*continued.*

send representatives or to acknowledge its existence in any way. Last January, however, South Australia gave its adhesion to the Council and sent a representative. There are many rather startling anomalies in the Australian Colonies, and these the Federal Council has attempted to deal with. In most criminal and civil cases the jurisdiction of Colonial Courts does not extend beyond their own borders, and each Colony is an Alsatia for all but the most desperate criminals belonging to their neighbours. Recently, General Edwards, who has just completed an inspection of the system of defence in the Australasian Colonies, called attention to the want of practical arrangements for mobilising the various defence forces which have been created in the colonies. It seems that no two colonies have adopted the same military system. In some, Volunteer corps exist; in others there is a defence force enlisted and paid for a specific period. Not a pound of military gunpowder has ever been manufactured in any of the colonies, and although immense sums have been spent upon fortifications and upon the latest guns and military appliances, nothing in the shape of an arsenal exists. Mr. Gillies points out to Sir Henry Parkes that the Federal Council Act can be extended so as to create means of providing for these deficiencies, and it must be said that his modest and carefully-thought-out reply contrasts favourably with the vast and wandering aspirations of the older statesman in New South Wales.

The Eastern Morning News—

November 20th, 1889.

Mr. Gillies, Prime Minister of Victoria, has replied to Sir Henry Parkes' proposal to appoint a Convention of the Australias, in terms which practically amount to a restatement of the position which Sir Henry Parkes so ably demolished. The Colonial Secretary of Queensland has also replied to similar effect, and consequently it is not likely that the Convention will be held. It will be remembered that Sir Henry Parkes proposed a federation of the Australias, to be constituted by a Convention, in order to carry out General Edwards' recommendations about the defence of Australia by a federal army. He argued that the Federal Council had no power to deal with the discipline of the army; and this Federal Council is regarded in his country as so poor and weak an institution that New South Wales has never sent any representative

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Eastern Morning News—*continued.*

to it at all. To this argument Mr. Gillies addresses himself, and endeavours to prove that the Federal Council can deal with the army question. It cannot control the discipline of a federal army, it is true, but it can make suggestions which each State can carry into law. But, inasmuch as the raising of an army would involve many nice considerations of federal command, overstepping the local boundaries of the different colonies, it is obvious that if the Federal Council does not now possess the power of dealing with such questions, the general understanding which Mr. Gillies wishes to be ratified by the individual colonies would be a very weak and unstatesmanlike instrument of government. A central authority must, in those matters where it touches local authority, override it; under Mr. Gillies' plan it would depend upon it. Besides this, New South Wales is not represented in the Federal Council; and this reply of Mr. Gillies looks as if he were endeavouring to put pressure upon Sir Henry Parkes to sacrifice his objections to the Federal Council. Nor is there any more force in Mr. Gillies' reply to the other part of Sir Henry Parkes' proposal. He does not wish to see a Convention established; he thinks the Federal Council would do as well. Now, at first sight, it sounds plausible to wish to arrive at federation, "not by the displacement, but by the development, of the Federal Council." But Mr. Gillies' plan would not be a development of the Federal Council. It is no part of their duty to draw up constitutions. They would have to meet informally; it would be a mere meeting of unauthorised representatives. Mr. Gillies thinks they might arrogate the functions of a Convention without offending their constituents. But why should there not be a formal Convention? It looks as if Mr. Gillies only proposed this feeble substitute of unauthorised councillors, in order to put Sir Henry Parkes in the same hole, and force him to enter the Federal Council. The wish to discuss federation without being committed to it is a bad reason, even if it is not a pretence on his part; and if the colonies mean business, they need not be afraid of appointing their agents. If they do not, what becomes of Mr. Gillies' argument, that no one will object to the Federal Council arrogating these powers to itself? It is sad to see local jealousies standing in the way of the acceptance of a really statesmanlike proposal; but happily all the Australias profess the same desire for the same end—Australian unity; and, if Mr. Gillies' proposals can possibly be made to yield some good, Sir Henry Parkes is not the man to let *amour propre* stand in the way of this great political ideal."

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Advertiser—

November 20th, 1889.

THE Premiers of New South Wales and Victoria are in entire agreement as to the advantages of federation; their only difference is as to the time and way of bringing it about. Mr. Duncan Gillies, whose despatch we printed yesterday, tells Sir Henry Parkes that if they can agree upon the establishment of a Federal Parliament and Executive he for his part will be much gratified. It will seem to most people that when concurrence has reached this point there ought not to be any insuperable obstacle to the realization of the idea. Nor is it probable that any such obstacle will present itself. The Australian Colonies wish for federation; the Imperial Government does not object to it, and the probabilities are very strong, therefore, that they will be federated before many years have passed. In the meantime, however, there is a question more pressing than the creation of a common Legislature and Executive. That is the question of defence. It must, as Mr. Gillies points out, take some years to carry out the larger idea, but it may not be years before the colonies are called upon to defend themselves. An Australian army and navy at the disposal of an Australian Executive would doubtless be the most effective means of defence, but before the colonies can make the arrangements to provide themselves with these forces they may be obliged to do the best they can with the means actually at their disposal. They cannot do this as matters stand. New South Wales troops cannot serve in Victoria, and Victorian troops cannot serve in New South Wales, and all sorts of practical difficulties might interfere with united action at the moment when united action became a vital necessity. Why not, says Mr. Gillies, provide for this possible emergency at once without waiting for a more perfect scheme, which, if it is capable of elaboration at all, will necessarily take time? A scheme for colonial defence could not possibly hinder the accomplishment of the larger scheme, and might even hasten it. There is sound sense in this argument, as it appears to us here at home, though we cannot guess what Sir Henry Parkes and his friends may have to say on the other side. We are quite unable to see, however, in what way the proposal of the Victorian Premier could retard that which is advocated by his colleague at Sydney. In any case it is satisfactory to those who wish well to the Australian Colonies to note that there is a disposition to union and co-operation. Now that it is clear that the only difference of opinion relates to the *modus operandi*, we can entertain no doubt that the federation which all parties desire will, before very long, be an accomplished fact.

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Aberdeen Free Press—

November 20th, 1889.

THE federation of the Australian Colonies seems likely to become an accomplished fact sooner than could a short time ago have been believed to be possible. The circular despatch addressed a few weeks ago to the several Colonial Governments by Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, proposing a conference for the consideration of the question, showed that in the premier colony opinion was in a surprisingly advanced condition on the subject. The reply now sent to Sir Henry Parkes' communication by the Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Prime Minister of Victoria, forms equally striking evidence to the same effect as regards the other chief colony; and from the fact that the Queensland Government concurs in the views and suggestions of Mr. Gillies, and other circumstances, there seems every reason to believe that the federation movement is in a similarly advanced position throughout the whole group of colonies, with the exception perhaps of New Zealand, which, lying at some distance, and having interests in certain respects diverse from those of the others, will not improbably hang back from the project for a time. Mr. Gillies does not, it is true, agree with Sir Henry Parkes as to the manner in which the thing should be gone about, but on the main question he is practically at one with him.

The difference between the two Ministers arises out of and has relation only to the different positions taken by New South Wales and Victoria in regard to the existing Federal Council. The former colony has never taken part in the composition or deliberations of that body. For reasons best known to itself, but which may be suspected to have some connection with the ambitions and pretensions of the colony—it was not long since the proposal was made to appropriate for New South Wales the name of "Australia"—it has refused to have anything to do with the Council. And Sir Henry Parkes in his recent despatch went so far as to say, with reference to this refusal, that whether his proposal for a conference on the question of federation was agreed to or not, there was "no person and no party here that could persuade Parliament to sanction the representation of this colony in the present Federal Council." Victoria, on the other hand, has not only joined the Council, but, being the largest and most important colony represented in it, has taken the leading part in its proceedings. Mr. Gillies, therefore, is naturally averse to the idea of setting it aside and ignoring its existence in the manner proposed by Sir Henry Parkes. He urges that if the colonies are to confer together on

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Aberdeen Free Press—*continued.*

the question of federation, the Federal Council, with New South Wales represented in it, is the proper body to take the matter up. This is an exceedingly reasonable contention. Presumably the several Governments send to the Council the men to whom, in any case, they would be disposed to entrust the conduct of the federation project, and it would seem to be the most natural course to charge those men at the meeting of the Council with the consideration of the question. Mr. Gillies is less cogent in another part of his argument. The present correspondence has arisen out of a discussion in the colonies on the question of "general defence." Sir Henry Parkes holds that the question can only be solved by calling into existence a Federal Government and Parliament; but Mr. Gillies contends that the Federal Council, although it is merely a deliberative body, and has no Executive power, could effect all that is required by means of "legislation" on the subject of defence, each separate colony being trusted to do its part in the way of raising the necessary funds and so forth. This does not look a very practical suggestion. It is impossible to see how an army could be raised or a navy built for the defence of Australia as a whole, unless there were in existence a central authority for the control of the services, and, if need were, the enforcement of the responsibilities of the several colonies. Any project of "national defence" that was dependent on the voluntary action of a group of independent authorities would be certain to break down on the first emergency.

All that, however, is matter of secondary interest to others than the Australians themselves. The real interest of the situation lies, not in the question of how Australia is to organize its defences, or even the question of how the scheme of federation is to be gone about, but in the fact that opinion in Australia, as shown by the communications passing between the several Colonial Governments, has practically arrived at the stage of maturity, on the question of federation. The Prime Minister of Victoria, as we have said, is practically at one with his brother Premier of New South Wales as to the wisdom and expediency of federation, and there seems no reason to doubt that in the other and smaller colonies the same opinion now prevails. Mr Gillies is less confident than Sir Henry Parkes that the time for federation has arrived, but says he "I wish I could believe that it had." He refuses to yield to Sir Henry in his desire to see the colonies united under a Federal Parliament and Government, and he urges the claim of the Federal Council to be entrusted with the consideration of the project, on the ground that that is the most

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Aberdeen Free Press—*continued.*

likely way to promote the scheme—the idea being, as it is expressed in the letter sent in reply to Sir Parkes' despatch from the Queensland Government, that a Federal or Dominion Parliament should "supersede the Federal Council by the development of the latter and not by its displacement." The contest between Mr. Gillies and Sir Henry Parkes thus comes to turn on the very small question of whether the Federal Council shall or shall not be recognised by New South Wales. It is not for a moment to be imagined that any difference on such a trivial matter will be allowed to stand in the way of the realisation of the scheme of Union when the scheme itself has been approved by the general opinion of the Australian people. The difficulty may be described in another way as arising from the jealousies and rivalries of the two principal colonies. Neither New South Wales nor Victoria will be willing, in the carrying out of the federation project, to do or consent to any thing that may seem to imply a lowering of prestige, or acceptance of a secondary position in the federal system. There will be difficulties between them, for one thing, in regard to the question of where the capital of Australia is to be located. Sydney and Melbourne will both claim the honour of becoming the seat of the Dominion Government, and it may be found necessary, for the sake of peace, to deny it to both, and found a new capital somewhere else on "neutralised" territory. The existing system of protection maintained by Victoria against the other colonies as well as against the mother country, will also be an obstacle to the carrying out of the federation proposal; but it is to be presumed that Mr. Gillies and his friends, in falling in with the proposal, must have accepted the necessity for free trade as between the several colonies under the new arrangement. There is but small chance, it is to be feared, however, of its being accepted any more than in Canada as regards the old country.

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APPENDIX.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To the Editor of the United Service Gazette.—November 16th, 1889.

SIR,—I was very pleased to observe that, in your last issue, you devoted your columns to a leading article in this cause.

The Australian Colonies afford to the mother country a magnificent possession, and it is difficult for us in our little island home to realize the fact that Australia possesses a coast line 7,750 miles long, and that the Australasian group occupies in extent nearly two-fifths of the British dominions, and is only about one-fifth smaller than the whole continent of Europe; that she possesses a well-defined railway system which taps all her own centres of commerce, and daily brings to her capitals increasing wealth and prosperity. Nature has been very lavish in her gifts to Australia; so much so, indeed, that it has become a by-word amongst the colonists, "We do nothing for ourselves, Nature does all." However that may be, there is no question that the great island continent possesses untold wealth in minerals, that she has a climate, or rather series of climates, which are most favourable to agriculture and all other trades and industries; her pasture lands teem with cattle and sheep, and nothing seems to be amiss except the want of population. This, however, is a problem that time will solve, and the hardy Anglo-Saxon race will surely spread here as it has spread in America. With all these gifts in her lap, surely "happy are such a people." However, the more immediate question of the day which concerns them is that of the defence scheme, and it has become one of paramount importance. The colonists wishing to get the best advice on the subject, the aid of the Imperial authorities was sought some short time ago, and which resulted, as most of your readers know, in the engagement of Major-General Sir Wm. Jervois and the late Sir Peter (then Colonel) Scratchley to report on colonial defences generally. Principally from their suggestions, most of the capitals are now strongly fortified seawards, the batteries defending Port Jackson being on a very extensive scale. Landwards the principal dependence is placed upon the Volunteer and Defence Forces, which in each of the colonies are now numerically strong, with the formation of a superior class of soldiery. Out of the Volunteers has been embodied the nucleus of a small Standing Army, with most of its branches, under the name of Permanent, Defence, or Militia Forces, which at short notice can be made available for active service. The following particulars from the "Australian Handbook for 1889" give us a good idea of the defensive powers of the Colonies:—"An Australian fleet of some proportions is being built up. The Colony of Victoria has a navy of its own, comprising a line-of-battle ship, an ironclad, two gun-boats, and three torpedo-boats; New South Wales has a steam corvette and four torpedo launches; South Australia has a steel cruiser; Queensland has two gun-boats;

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Tasmania a torpedo-boat, and New Zealand four torpedo-boats. The boundaries of the Australian naval station have been modified by the Pelew Islands, St. Andrew's and the adjacent islands being included within the China station from July 1, 1885. The north boundary of the Australian station has been defined as follows:—From 95 deg. E. longitude by the parallel of 10 deg. S. latitude to 130 deg. E. longitude; thence north to 2 deg. N. latitude and along that parallel to 136 deg. E. longitude; thence north to 12 deg. N. latitude and along that parallel to 150 deg. W. longitude; and on the south side by the Antarctic Circle, including the numerous groups of islands situated within those limits. The station is under the command of a Rear-Admiral. In the station is included the Colony of Fiji. Sydney is the rendezvous and head-quarters of the Australian Squadron, and it has been definitely decided that it shall remain so. Garden Island, Port Jackson, has been fixed upon as the Naval Store Depôt. The Imperial fleet usually consists of an armour-plated ship, carrying the flag of the Admiral, three screw corvettes, two or three gun-boats, surveying-vessels, and schooners. So much for the navy. Now for the army. The census of 1881 showed that the Australasian Colonies could, if occasion arose, raise an army of over 450,000 males from twenty to forty, 'the soldier's age.' The numbers which each colony could supply were as follows:—Victoria, 114,142; New South Wales, 131,805; Queensland, 46,427; South Australia, 52,529; Western Australia, 4,354; Tasmania, 15,929; New Zealand, 86,514; total, 451,700 men. This number could at the present time be considerably increased." Here, then, is a very solid foundation upon which to build the fabric of Australian defence, and the importance to England of having such an adjunct in time of peace and an ally in time of war cannot be over-estimated. It is quite possible, however, that the jealousy and spirit of keen competition and rivalry that exists at the present moment between the colonists themselves may prove a stumbling-block towards furthering the cause of Imperial Federation; but these difficulties have been overcome, as was shown in the case of Canada. Much, however, has been done, and there is every hope that the measure will soon receive the practical support of the neighbouring colonies. New South Wales has started the ball rolling, and if Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier, receives anything like proper support in the cause, which is at least to be expected, we shall then be able to look upon Imperial Federation, if not in its entirety, at all events the defence portion of it, as within a very measurable distance of becoming an accomplished fact.

PATRIOT.

TRUE FEDERATION.

To the Editor of the Pall Mall Gazette.—November 19th, 1889.

Sir,—Mr. Parkin did not tell your representative how the Australians received his notable argument that an independent Australia would fall under France or Germany in a few weeks. It would take either country an army of one hundred thousand men even to hold the seaports. On

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the seaboard the army's position would be that of an army in Afghanistan. They would hold no more of the country than was within rifle or cannon range. The interior would be held by the Australians, and every foreign soldier who wandered beyond his cantonment would, as in Afghanistan, return no more. Neither of the Powers referred to by Mr. Parkin could spare an army to occupy Australia for fear of weakening itself against the other. Germany has, in fact, no army for foreign service at all. France has such an army, but it is already fully employed; and if your Special Commissioner in Rome has come to a sound conclusion, the Pope has only got to hold up his finger in order to induce France to conquer Italy and lock up another army in Rome. It could not possibly find a third army for Australia. There is another reason why neither Government would ever despatch an expedition to Australia. It knows that the English fleet would be sent after that expedition to out-steam and ram the transports in mid-ocean. If such reasoning as Mr. Parkin's is sound, the United States, with their crazy fleet and tiny army, are at the mercy of any of the military Powers; and yet the Americans fancy they are pretty secure, and have administered a rap or two on the knuckles both to France and Germany within the last quarter of a century. The argument of Mr. Parkin was probably regarded by the sturdy Australians with about the same amount of respect as Mr. Burns or Mr. Tillett must regard Mr. Parkin's other argument that England is bound to take into consideration the interests of the bondholders who have lent money to Australia through the London Stock Exchange. The interest on Australian loans is as safe as that on any other securities in the world. No doubt the selling price of the bonds might be fractionally affected for a time by the declaration of independence on the part of Australia, but to the New Radicalism such a consideration weighs lighter than a feather. Let us have none of "Parkin's Plan," but take up "Parkes's Plan"—that is a great Federation, as advocated by Sir Henry Parkes, not of those merely who will presently owe allegiance to the young gentlemen in the stiff collars, but of all English-speaking men—a Federation above all things framed on limited liability lines, so as to avoid the objections founded upon the rules of international law, which every wise Australian sees to every plan of Imperial Federation hitherto framed or sketched.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

PAN ANGLICANUS.

AN AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ARMY.

To the Editor of the St. James's Gazette.—November 20th, 1889.

SIR,—Mr. Gillies' proposals, so far as the question of defence is concerned, amounts to this: that the existing Federal Council, in conjunction with representatives from New South Wales, should draw up a treaty of defensive alliance, to be afterwards ratified by the various Colonial Legislatures. The futility of this, except as the merest temporary expedient,

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will be at once apparent to every one in any way cognizant with the organization of military forces. A simple aggregation of forces is a very different thing from an absolute amalgamation of armies; and, circumstanced as Australia is, the latter arrangement is altogether desirable—from the point of view of effective value especially, but from that of economy as well. The Victorian Premier urges that an arrangement should be come to "now" which shall provide for a combination of colonial forces in an "emergency." But the arrangement he indicates is such as might be come to by the various Governments in a week's time, and without any previous understanding, in the presence of some urgent emergency. Mr. Gillies' suggestions, briefly put, are these:—(1) Provision should be made for the troops of one colony serving in another colony; (2) while not so employed they should be under the same military authority as non-transferable forces; (3) pay and allowances should be fixed for troops serving out of their own "country," as Mr. Gillies puts it, but out of their own colony, as he means. All these suggested provisions, it will be seen, make for the autonomy of colonial forces, not for the autonomy of a federal army. Now, while in India we have the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras armies, these are all subject to the supreme orders of one Executive; but, notwithstanding that, the doing away with their existence as separate armies is now, as it would seem, only a question of a very little time.

Being deeply interested in what may be called the national development of Australia, and having been a witness, almost from the first, of the beneficial effects of federation in the case of British North America, I am not blind to the fact that Mr. Gillies' ultimate aims in the matter are quite as sound as those of Sir Henry Parkes. But, as in this case of a federal army, it may be that efficiency and economy—the fundamental principles of good government, as I take it—can be better attained, in respect of other matters which are of common interest and concern to all the colonies, by a union on the lines of the Canadian Dominion than by isolated, even if harmonious, action. As has already been pointed out in your columns, it is a matter of very little moment whether federation in Australia should come about by means of the existing Federal Council or by thrusting that body altogether aside. But seeing that the Federal Council was from the first intended to lead up to the greater federation, it would be an ungracious act on the part of New South Wales to insist on its being ignored. Without an Executive that is superior to the moods and tenses of individual Legislatures and Governments, however, I do not see how an army and an army organization common to the whole of Australia can be created, mobilized, and controlled. The same reasoning may lead others to conclude that, without a Federal Executive and Federal Parliament, inter-colonial arrangements in other respects will be no better than makeshifts.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

November 19. MILES.

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OPINION IN INDIA.

THE *Pioneer Mail* of Allahabad, November 6th, 1889, has the following:—

"The *Pall Mall Gazette* lapses into something very like nonsense when it talks of Sir Henry Parkes' Federation Scheme bringing Imperial Federation within the scope of practical politics. Were the Australasian Colonies united by a federal constitution to-morrow, the problem of Imperial Federation would no more be solved than it was solved by the British North American Act of 1867; but though it would not affect what has hitherto baffled even abler men than Sir Henry Parkes, the new scheme would mark an epoch in the history of Australasia. The movement has been foreseen by the more sagacious among Australian politicians for years past; and just as it was the results springing out of the American Civil War which hastened the union of the British Colonies in the North, so it is the recognition of the urgent need of a common defence against a possible invasion which gives perhaps the strongest impulse in a similar direction in Australasia. A year or two ago delegates from several of the colonies did actually meet in conference to decide on the measures of protection more immediately called for, and were a federal constitution to become an accomplished fact, this is the chief question the new Chambers would take into consideration. This, too, is the aspect of the new scheme of most importance from an Imperial point of view. In the event of a great war the defence of the coasts of Australasia would be a matter of grave concern to the Imperial Government at the present time; but with the intimate union of the colonies for military purposes, and the elaboration of concerted measures by a common council, many existing causes for anxiety would disappear. The next most important advantage which might result, would be the adoption by the different colonies of a uniform fiscal policy. At present each colony has its own. One is a freetrader, some are slightly protective, and others greatly so,—a state of things which cannot be beneficial to the trade of Australasia as a whole. At the same time it is precisely this question of the tariff, and the decision of how far its regulation ought to be left to the Federal House of Commons, which Sir Henry Parkes will probably find a most serious obstacle to the realization of his desires. With tact and perseverance, however, there is no reason why he should not succeed in the end, and in that case he will have conferred a signal boon both on Australasia and the Empire."

Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.—1890.

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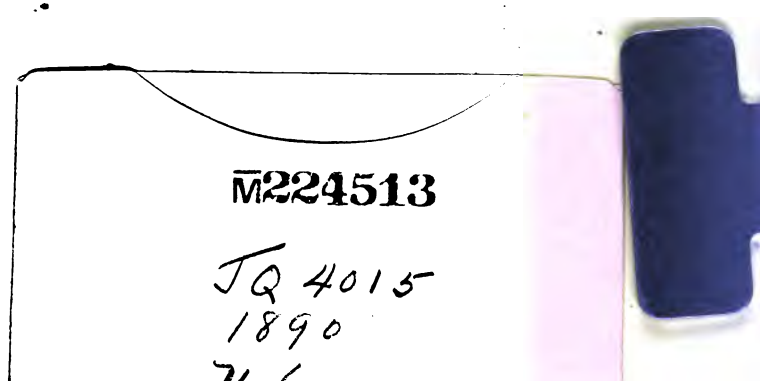

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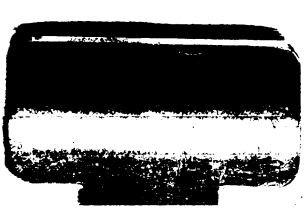

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